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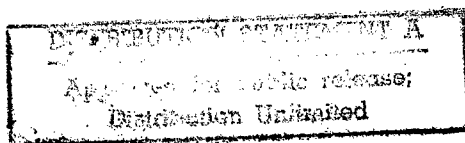
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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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22 April 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

RECENT STEPS CONSOLIDATE 'OLD FRIENDSHIP' WITH GREECE

AU241652 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 24 Mar 85

["The Greek People Celebrate the Independence Day--Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 24 Mar (ATA)--Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article which says: On 25 March the Greek people celebrate the 164th anniversary of the victory of independence. The Greek people came to this marked day in their history after a prolonged and ceaseless struggle, after legendary battles against the yoke of the foreign occupiers. The struggle of the Greek people for the victory of independence, which has gone down in the history of Greece under the name of "1821 revolution," under the leadership of Ipsilanti, Kollokotroni and others, constitutes one of the most glorious periods in the history of the Greek people. The victory of the armed uprising after a 4 century long rule was of a great importance for the Greek people and for the other peoples of the Balkans who were languishing under the rule of the Osman empire.

In the course of their ancient and modern history, the Albanian people and the Greek people, as two neighbouring peoples, have had to fight several times against the same enemies. The Albanian patriots of that time considered the triumph of the struggle waged by the Greek people against the occupiers as a contribution to the intensification of the liberation struggle of the Albanian people for freedom and independence. Many Albanians have taken part in the 1821 uprising. They have fought heroically and have shed their blood side by side the Greek freedom fighters, that is why the Greek people have honored, respected and immortalized them in their history and songs. The old links of friendship, forged through centuries in the struggle against common enemies, have taught our two peoples to come to the aid and back up the efforts of one another for freedom and independent development. The storms of the time, the key moments of the history have pitched the Albanian people and the Greek one in front of common enemies, alongside each other for the victory of their freedom and independence. The Second World War pitched our two peoples in the same trench, against the same Nazi-fascist enemy.

The Albanian people and their government have always made efforts to develop further this ancient and traditional friendship between our two peoples to their benefit and in the interest of safeguarding peace and security in the Balkans. Proceeding from this, Socialist Albania has consistently applied the policy of good neighbourliness, of the observation of sovereignty and national independence, of the non-interference in the internal affairs, of equality and of exchanges with mutual benefit. This policy is in the interests of our two people and of all the other peoples of the peninsula. Positive development have been recently recorded towards the strengthening of the relations of the good neighbourliness between our two countries. The exchange of messages between the prime ministers of Albania and Greece have also served this lofty mission. In their messages they evaluate the considerable progress and the important concrete steps taken last year, which lead to the consolidation of the old friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people. The Albanian people and their government have welcomed the exchange of the official visits and the results achieved in the talks held last year in Athens and in Tirana, which opened the way to a broader collaboration in various fields of mutual interest. In this spirit five important agreements were signed last year between the government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the government of the Greek Republic, including: the agreement on international road transport, the cultural agreement, the agreement on scientific and technical cooperation, the agreement on the exchanges in telecommunications and the agreement on post services. The conclusion of such agreements gave a new impetus to the development of the relations of the good neighbourliness and paved the way for an even broader collaboration in other fields as well. The start of the current year was marked by other significant events which contributed to the strengthening of the relations of friendship between Albania and Greece. The opening and regular functioning of the Kakavija border point, as well as the signing of the documents on trade exchanges between the two countries for 1985 and the protocol on the cultural exchanges will create greater possibilities for the further intensification of the exchanges between our two countries in different fields, contributing in this way to the constant strengthening of the traditional links and friendship between our two peoples.

The latest developments in the relations between Albania and Greece create the conviction that in the future they will develop further to the common benefit. This responds to the interests and the aspirations of our peoples to live in peace and friendship with one another, something which contributes to the preservation of peace and security in the Balkans. "We love and respect the Greek people," Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, "because they nurture the same feelings of friendship towards the Albanian people. We are sincere with each other. Neither wishes the other ill, but only well. These are historical links, cemented with the blood shed together against the same occupiers."

On this day of celebration for the friendly Greek people, the Albanian people extend to them the warmest greetings and wishes for the progress and prosperity of their homeland. On this occasion we once again express the conviction that the relations of good neighbourliness between our two peoples will develop further in the future, in the common interest and good, and to the benefit of the preservation of peace and security in the Balkans and the world.

22 April 1985

ALBANIA

AWP JOURNAL ON PRIVATE SECTOR IN 'REVISIONIST' COUNTRIES

AU141424 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE No 2 in Albanian Feb 85 pp 74-82

[Article by Marta Muco: "The Bona Fide Private Sector of the Economy Is Being Increasingly Extended in the Revisionist Countries of Eastern Europe"]

[Excerpt] The successful construction of socialism in our country during the past 4 decades and the great achievements in all fields vindicate once again the correctness and truth of the Marxist-Leninist laws and principles on the creation, functioning, and development of the socialist economy. Their creative implementation by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha under the concrete historical conditions of our country constitutes a new theoretical and practical contribution and serves as a powerful argument to unmask the revisionist views, "theories," and practices distorting and negating the general laws on the construction of socialism, under the pretext that the conclusions of the classics of Marxism-Leninism are supposedly outdated.

The socialist system of the economy has different features and is based on principles that are contrary to the capitalist system of the economy. In the established system of socialist production relations, this contradiction rules out any possibility that the socialist system may have elements in common with capitalism, as the modern revisionists claim.

Relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the socialization of the major means of production and the establishment of socialist ownership over them constitutes the first step in the construction of the new society. The consistent policy of our party and state in connection with this problem made it possible to eliminate private capitalist property in our country, in whatever dimension and form, to successfully establish socialist ownership over the means of production, in the form of state ownership in industry, this being the highest form of ownership, and in the form of both cooperative and state ownership in agriculture. This prolonged and difficult process was certainly not carried out in one single act, but was implemented gradually, had varied facets, and took place over a given period of time in accordance with traditions and specific circumstances.

As a determinant in the construction of the new socialist society, the attitude toward property constitutes the primary and most important

distinction between the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice for the construction of socialism, on the one hand, and the theories and practices of the modern revisionists, on the other. Only the socialist nomenclature and the juridical proclamation of socialist property over the means of production is retained in the countries that are ruled by the revisionists, but in fact, as regards its real substance and function, it has been transformed into state monopoly capital property, or into collective capitalist property, as well as into bona fide private property. "The economy in those countries," Comrade Enver Hoxha says, "which the revisionists continue to term 'socialist,' under the pretext that it is nationalized or collectivized, is in fact nothing more than a capitalist economy of a particular type" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1969-70," pp 193-4).

The restored capitalist nature of production relations in those countries is reflected not only in the substance of property, which is superficially called "socialist," but also in the fact that the bona fide private sector is continually expanding. Group property has degenerated together with the degeneration of socialist state property into state monopoly capitalist property, which is the dominating form of property in those countries, and has been transformed into collective capitalist property. Personal property, in the form of the private plot and the ancilliary economy, has been transformed into private property producing for the market, in the wake of the degeneration of socialist property into capitalist property.

This practice, which has nothing in common with the socialist system of the economy, is an indicator of the further deepening of the domination of capitalist production relations and of the final relinquishing of the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction.

Marxist-Leninist theory and practice has shown that small private property gives birth, as Lenin stressed, "to capitalism and the bourgeoisie, continually, daily and hourly, in a spontaneous manner and on a large scale" (Lenin, Works, Vol 37, p 8). But the revisionist ideologues terming this definition by Lenin as an outdated "dogma" which must be rejected. They are thus opening up the way to the prospering of private property in all its forms and on a large scale; they are thus legitimizing its existence, which is currently one of the common characteristics of "socialist" models.

This process is a result of a number of reforms carried out in the economy of those countries, a continuation of the revisionist course which started in the Soviet Union and followed in other countries. There is now no doubt that the forms of socialist property in those countries have been transformed into various forms of private capitalist property, thus destroying the socialist system of the economy.

CSO: 2020/98

ALBANIA

AWP DAILY STRESSES 'PARTY-PEOPLE UNITY'

AU161549 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 16 Mar 85

["Party-People Unity--Original Experience of the Albanian Revolution--
Studying the 43rd Volume of the Works by Comrade Enver Hoxha"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 16 Mar (ATA)--Under the above title ZERI I POPULLIT
carries an article which says among the other things:

The steel like unity of the people round the party which exists in our country today is a result of the application in any stage and time of the correct revolutionary and principled line of the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, a line that has always embodied and realized the historic demands of the masses.

In his works, Comrade Enver Hoxha has constantly stressed that the question of unity must be understood and implemented in a Marxist-Leninist way. He clearly analyses this once again in his 43rd volume: "All in our country are comrades, friends and brothers with each other. This unity is based on the great economic transformations, on the socialist road created by the common ownership of the means of production, on our ideological basis, Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class, which has become at the same time the ideology of our cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia."

The unity of the peoples round the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head has revealed its vitality during the whole history of the anti-fascist national liberation war and the socialist construction in our country. It is also proved by the magnificent successes attained in the fronts of the socialist construction, in the great socialist transformations, in the unprecedented heroism and selflessness of the working masses, in the revolutionary enthusiasm and readiness, in the revolutionary initiatives at home and in the bursting of creative, mental and physical energies of the people, etc.

In the face of this unity over these years there were smashed to smithereens intrigues, plots, blockades and pressures of the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese revisionists, of American imperialists and world reaction, who resorted to one thousand and one ways to destroy socialism in Albania.

In the face of the steel unity there were crushed the plots and activity of the enemies of the party and people, beginning with Koci Xoxe down to Mehmet Shehu, who, in the face of being exposed as agent of the foreign imperialist powers and revisionists, committed suicide.

The monolithic party people unity has proved its vitality while coping with the ideological imperialist-revisionist pressure and aggression, because our party, state and people have waged and are waging a frontal war against the capitalist-revisionist world that encircles us. In the face of the ideological imperialist-revisionist aggression, which aims to denigrate the brilliant reality of Socialist Albania, that wants to hinder the spreading of the example of the Albanian revolution, it is manifesting with all its strength the ideological unity of the people, forged by the party.

Through the materials published in this volume, it is presented as in all the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the magnificence of the revolutionary theory and practice of our party, which preserves and forges this unity for the good of the people, their freedom and independence, the construction of socialism in our country, ZERI I POPULLIT concludes.

CSO: 2020/98

ALBANIA

HOXHA BOOK CITED ON 'FALSE' SFRY ACCUSATIONS

AU101516 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 10 Mar 85

["Denouncement of the False Accusations of Sectarianism by the Yugoslav Revisionists Against Our Party--While Studying the Book by Comrade Enver Hoxha 'Laying the Foundations of the New Albania'"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 10 Mar (ATA)--A new book "Laying the Foundations of the New Albania" was added recently to the great work of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Among others it has a special importance also regarding the correct understanding of the matters of the great war that the Communist Party of Albania has waged for the triumph of the revolution, the creation of the new state, to know the innumerable difficulties and hindrances that it had to overcome in the clashes with different external and internal enemies, overt and covert ones, Prof Bujar Hoxha writes in an article of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT.

Among the numerous important problems that Comrade Enver Hoxha treats in this book is also the denunciation of the accusation that the emissaries of Tito and their agents made against the CPA on alleged sectarian stands with regard to the National Liberation Front and Balli Kombetar. This groundless accusation was made by the Titoites on diabolic aims. As the leader of our party stresses and as it was proved by the course of events and the situations, while the governments of Belgrade had followed an anti-Albanian, occupying and annexionist policy, the Titoites gave a new view to this policy without changing its essence. They covered it with the veil of "friendship," "cooperation," "Marxism-Leninism" etc. This made it more difficult to understand the aim of the actions and the purposes of the Yugoslavs.

The Marxist-Leninist arguments and substantiations, permeated by an iron logic, are presented in the book with an historic veracity and accuracy, as they are used at that period, in October 1944. And concretely Velimir Stoinic, Niaz Dizdarevic, Koci Xoxe, Sejfulla Maleshova, etc, using the accusation "sectarian" stand for "sectarianism on the part of the CPA," made "proposals," "suggestions" and "recommendations" that the "limits of the front" should be wider and that elements who until late had fought against the national liberation movement the CPA, even with arms, be ranked in it. In this way these enemies, external and internal, united in a

single front, aimed to hit and distort the correct principled line of the CPA pursued since the very beginning in its work for the creation, development and consolidation of the National Liberation Front.

Comrade Enver Hoxha uncovers the real aim of the theorizations and accusations, slanders of the Titoites. This, he stresses, was a stage on the road for the realization of the plan worked out in Belgrade to hit the Communist Party of Albania, to show that during the years of its existence it had supposedly been unable to elaborate and pursue a correct political line and they aimed to prepare the terrain that the reins of Albania be in the hands of Tito and his men.

Our party attached a special attention since the very beginning, the author writes, to the unity of the people to fight resolutely against the occupiers for the liberation of the homeland. To this end, the party worked out a clear and all-sided program.

The decisive factor to mobilise and unite the people and to constantly consolidate this unity round the National Liberation Front has been the unitarian leadership of the party in it. In this regard the party made no concessions. Therefore, in its policy on the National Liberation Front, as Comrade Enver Hoxha substantiates, there were not at all fluctuations, either sectarian or opportunist.

The leading role of the party in the war and in the front terrified the internal and external enemies. Therefore both the fascists and later the Nazis and their collaborators and servants, the Ballists and Zogistes, the British and the Americans, the Titoites and their agents in the ranks of the party, tried with all manner of means to liquidate it. In this context, the Titoites under the veil of "Marxism," criticized the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha of allegedly "theoretical" sectarian mistakes regarding the front, whereas the chieftains of "Balli Kombetar" on their part, spoke of "adventurism" of the communists, on people sold out to the foreigner, etc.

The emissaries of Tito, the article stresses, accused the CPA also of sectarian stand towards the "Balli Kombetar." The history of Balli is well-known now. In March 1943, in Labinot, Tempo [emissary between Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Communist Party of Albania] too had made such accusations, but with one difference, because this sworn anti-Albanian accused our party of both sectarian and opportunist stands, of the same questions and at the same period of time. Tempo received the proper reply by Comrade Enver Hoxha, who through convincing proofs and arguments refuted these accusations and uncovered the real aims of the Tempo's opinions. Velmir Stoinic, who was supported by such agents as Koci Xoxe, Sejfulla Maleshova, etc, reproduced the accusations of sectarianism with regard to the "Balli Kombetar" on the eve of liberation.

The CPA was accused of being sectarian with regard to the creation of "Balli Kombetar" because it had not worked to the proper extent and as it was needed with the leaders of this treacherous organization, before it was formed.

To refute this absurdity and to make clear how groundless the Titoites accusation was, Comrade Enver Hoxha used the iron logic of a Marxist. He asked Stoinic on the reason why the Chetniks, Ustash, etc, took the side of the enemy and fought with arms against the national liberation movement in Yugoslavia and the CPY, committing most savage crimes. Stoinic was unable to answer and remained speechless.

The portraits of the pseudonationalists and pseudodemocrats are masterfully described by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the author writes further on. Comrade Enver Hoxha substantiates in the most convincing way that such elements, from the point of view of their social state, their links with the reactionary forces and their world outlook, were detached from the people and were determined to work and fight with the aim that the national liberation movement fail.

"Balli Kombetar" was not created, as its chieftains claimed, "to save the homeland" and "to protect the rights of the Albanians," but to consolidate further the fascist yoke.

Stoinic and his collaborators meant precisely such elements when he accused the CPA of sectarian stand. The life proved that these pseudo-patriots, even after the creation of the new Albania, in collaboration with its enemies continued their work to return the past time and today are ready to coordinate their actions even with the devil, as they are collaborating with the sworn anti-Albanians, the great-Serbs against Socialist Albania. Therefore, the entire activity of the chieftains of Balli both during and after the war proves the pointless and dark aims of the Titoites accusations of sectarian stands on the part of the CPA.

Over 40 years have passed by from the events which are described in the book "Laying the Foundations of the New Albania." Despite the incessant failures of the Titoites in the struggle against our country and party, during this period they have not given up their anti-Albanian and anti-Marxist aims. Their aim was and is to realise the old dreams of Serbia, Yugoslavia of kings: subjugation of our country or its inclusion in the Yugoslav Federation. But, for the realisation of these dreams hindrance for them was and still is our party and its leader Comrade Enver Hoxha. Therefore, they tried to subjugate our party and turn it into an appendix of the CPY. The numerous plots, beginning with Berat up to the plotting activity of the multiagent Mehmet Shehu and Co, are links of a single chain. The work by Comrade Enver Hoxha "Laying the Foundations of the New Albania," gives us the possibility to learn about the anti-Albanian and anti-Marxist activity of the Titoites and other enemies, thus enabling us to understand and uncover the actual aims of the government officials of Belgrade. This work teaches us to be always vigilant to defend our socialist victories and the homeland, it invites us to be on the alert towards the actions of the internal and external enemies, and at the same time increases our faith and optimism for the future of the Socialist Albania, the article writes in conclusion.

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

44TH VOLUME OF HOXHA WORKS--Tirana, 10 Mar (ATA)--The 44th volume of the works by Comrade Enver Hoxha came off the press and was put to circulation. This volume contains materials of June-November 1970 period, a part of which is published for the first time. Among the main materials of the volume are: the closing speech at the 10th plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, "On the Theoretical and Practical Understanding of the Organization of Work," the speech at the "V.I. Lenin" party school, "Let Us Study the Marxist-Leninist Theory in Close Connection With the Revolutionary Practice," the contributions held at the meetings of the Political Bureau: "The Manifestations of Intellectualism and Technocracy Should Be Continuously Opposed," "The Realisation of the Plan Is Achieved Through a Perfect Organization," "The Leadership of the Ministry of Defence Should Analyse Well the Situation Created In It," the talk "On an Intermediate Form Between the Agricultural Cooperative and the Agricultural Enterprise," speeches, articles, etc. The volume has an index. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 10 Mar 85]

MALI ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS--Tirana, 10 Mar (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia received yesterday the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Mali to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Kibly Demba Diallo [spelling as received], who presented the credentials. Present at the ceremony of the handing over of the credentials were the Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile, the Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj, the Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Andon Berxholi and the chief of the protocol branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jovan Antoni. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 10 Mar 85]

CSO: 2020/98

BULGARIA

CONDITIONS FOR ADMISSION TO MILITARY ACADEMIES PUBLISHED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Feb 85 p 2

[Ministry of National Defense announcement regarding selection of cadets and MNO [Ministry of National Defense] scholarship students for the academic year 1985-1986]

[Text] A. Admission of Cadets to Higher Military Academies

Vasil Levski Higher People's Military Academy

The academy has command, command-engineer, engineer, services and political areas of concentration.

1. The command area of concentration with a 4-year training period has the following specialties: "Motorized Rifle Troops," "Border Troops," "Tank Troops --Line" and "Motorized Rifle Troops--People's Militia."
2. The command-engineer area of concentration with a 4-year training period has the following specialties: "Communication Troops," "Chemical Troops," "Motor Transportation Troops" and "Engineer Troops."
3. The engineer area of concentration has a 5-year training period and the specialty "Tank Troops--Technical."
4. The "Service Troops" area of concentration has the specialty "Ration and Clothing Supply." Training period: 4 years.
5. The political area of concentration has a 4-year training period.

G. Dimitrov Higher People's Artillery Academy

The academy has command, command-engineer, engineer and political areas of concentration.

1. The command area of concentration has a 4-year training period and the following specialties: "Field Artillery," "Ordnance Troops" and "Antiaircraft Artillery."

2. The command-engineer area of concentration has a 4-year training period and the specialty "Instrumental Observation, Geodesy, Cartography and Photogrammetry."

3. The engineer area of concentration with a 5-year training period has the following specialties: "Artillery Weapons," "Radio Troops--Radar," "Radio Troops--Automated Control Systems," "Computer Technology and Automated Control Systems for Troops" and "Antiaircraft Troops."

4. The political area of concentration has a 4-year training period.

Georgi Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy

The academy has command-engineer, engineer and political areas of concentration.

1. The command-engineer area of concentration has the following specialties: "Aviation Pilot," "Aircraft Controller" and "Air Force Staff."

The training period is 5 years.

2. The engineer area of concentration with a 5-year training period has the following specialties: "Maintenance and Repair of Aircraft," "Maintenance and Repair of Aviation Equipment of Aircraft," "Maintenance and Repair of Aircraft Electronic Equipment," "Maintenance and Repair of Communication and Radio Facilities" and "Maintenance and Repair of Air Armament."

3. The political area of concentration has a 4-year training period.

N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Naval Academy

The academy has command-engineer and engineer areas of concentration, both with a 5-year training period.

1. The command-engineer area of concentration has the following specialties: "Navigation for the Navy" and "Navigation for Civilian Shipping."

2. The engineer area of concentration has the following specialties: "Ship Machinery and Mechanisms--Navy," "Ship Machinery and Mechanisms--Civilian Shipping," "Maritime Communications" and "Radio Engineering."

Graduates of the military academies are deemed to have performed their regular military service, are awarded the rank of engineer-lieutenant (lieutenant) and are credited with a higher civilian education and qualifications in keeping with the specialty they have completed.

To be admitted as candidates to the higher military academies of the Bulgarian People's Army young men must meet the following conditions: they must have completed their secondary education; must be correctly oriented politically; be Bulgarian citizens; like military service; be active members of the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union]; be physically healthy; must not be over 23

years of age, and pilot candidates not over 21 (age to be determined as of 1 September 1985); must not be married; must have no convictions or be under prosecution or investigation; must be cleared by their unit commander (in the case of servicemen and extended-service men); must have overall grades on secondary school diploma of not less than very good (5.00) and not less than 1 year of service in the Bulgarian People's Army as of 1 September 1985. Candidates for the specialty of "Motorized Rifle Troops--People's Militia" must be over 1.70 m tall and be cleared by the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] agencies.

Every young man has a right to apply for all specialties (listed in order of preference) at three higher military academies. As the first academy he must indicate G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy or N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Naval Academy; as the second and third the other two higher military academies (V. Levski Higher People's Military Academy, G. Dimitrov Higher People's Artillery Academy) according to the cadet candidate's preference.

Every cadet candidate shall submit, through the chief of the military administration where he is registered to the chief of the higher military academy in question, the following documents: application to sit for a competitive examination; competitive file, in which the cadet candidate must rank the desired specialties in the order in which he wishes to be accepted; an autobiography; a declaration that he will serve not less than 10 years in the Armed Forces or in the departments for whose needs he is accepted (forms for the documents indicated thus far are obtainable from the military administration); diploma for completed secondary education or an officially certified transcript thereof; birth certificate; pedagogical (service) rating of his candidacy for a higher military academy; documents certifying any preference he enjoys (if the candidate has any preferential right); for the "Motorized Rifle Troops--People's Militia" specialty, a certificate that he has been cleared by the MVR agencies in question.

If a candidate is applying to more than one higher military academy, all documents shall be sent to the first academy, but to the others an application and competitive file.

Candidate cadets who are servicemen shall submit the above-enumerated documents through their unit commander.

The documents of servicemen cleared to apply for a military academy shall be sent, together with medical record book, extracts from military record book of rewards and punishments and service efficiency rating, to the military administration where the servicemen are registered.

Candidates for the "Motorized Rifle Troops--People's Militia" specialty shall, by 30 March 1985, submit to the personnel offices of the MVR units in their place of residence an application to sit for a competitive examination. On receipt of a favorable reply they shall submit their documents to the military administrations.

Applications with which all the required documents, legibly filled out, are not enclosed will not be accepted.

Final dates for the submittal of cadet candidates' documents to the military administrations are as follows: by 4 June for pre-1985 graduates and for servicemen, and by 15 July for 1985 graduates.

After these dates no new or additionally submitted documents will be accepted.

Preparatory courses for candidate-cadet extended-service soldiers and students from the NShZO [National Reserve Officers School] will be conducted at the higher military academies to which candidates have submitted their documents. The preparatory course for candidate cadets at G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy and N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Naval Academy will be conducted for 28 days beginning on 9 July 1985, and at the V. Levski Higher People's Military Academy and G. Dimitrov Higher People's Artillery Academy for 33 days beginning 10 July 1985.

The competitive examinations, tests of physical and psychophysiological qualities and medical examinations will be conducted at the higher military academies to which candidate cadets have submitted their basic documents.

Candidate cadets for G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy and N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Naval Academy must report not later than 1400 hours on 5 August 1985, and those for V. Levski Higher People's Military Academy and G. Dimitrov Higher People's Artillery Academy not later than 1400 hours on 11 August 1985.

Candidates for the "Aviation Pilot" specialty must report at G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy not later than 1400 hours on 23 July 1985.

Young men who applied for G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy and N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Naval Academy and received poor scores on the written competitive examination may report at their second-choice military educational institution, but not later than 1800 hours on 16 August 1985, while those who received favorable scores but were not accepted may report by 0800 hours on 19 August 1985, and at the third academy not later than 1700 hours on 23 August 1985.

Cadet candidates for all military academies must take two written examinations --the first in a special subject and the second in social science.

The special subjects in which competitive examinations are taken are the following: for the political area of concentration, the history of Bulgaria; for the "Chemical Troops" specialty, chemistry; for all other specialties, mathematics.

Competitive examinations are conducted on programs approved by the Ministry of National Education and published in the Handbook for Candidate Students, and for the "Chemical Troops" specialty on chemistry programs for candidacy at universities and chemical engineering institutes.

Candidate cadets for the "Aviation Pilot" specialty undergo a psychophysiological examination according to special methods. The psychophysiological qualities of candidates are rated in accordance with a six-point system.

The times for testing the caliber of candidate cadets and for the written examinations are as follows:

For G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy and N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Naval Academy:

From 6 to 10 August 1985, test of psychophysiological qualities, test of physical qualities and medical examination. For the "Aviation Pilot" specialty these activities are conducted from 23 July to 10 August 1985;

On 11 August 1985, written competitive examination in mathematics;

On 12 August 1985, written competitive examination in history (for candidates from G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy--political area of concentration);

On 13 August 1985, written competitive examination in social science.

For V. Levski Higher People's Military Academy and G. Dimitrov Higher People's Artillery Academy:

From 12 to 16 August 1985, test of psychophysiological and physical qualities and medical examination;

On 17 August 1985, written competitive examination in mathematics;

On 18 August 1985, written examination in history (for political area of concentration);

On 19 August 1985, written competitive examination in social science;

On 20 August 1985, written competitive examination in chemistry (for the "Chemical Troops" specialty at V. Levski Higher People's Military Academy).

The physical qualities of candidates will be tested in the following disciplines and according to the following standards: chinning oneself [nabirane] on the horizontal bar not less than six times; 100-meter dash from standing start--not more than 15.5 seconds; 1000-meter cross-country--not more than 4.10 minutes.

Uniform--athletic (to be provided by candidate cadets).

The physical qualities of candidate cadets are to be rated "Fit for military educational institution" or "Unfit for military educational institution."

The medical examinations shall be conducted in accordance with the requirements of "The Classification of Diseases and Physical Defects." Candidates for the "Aviation Pilot" specialty will undergo a special aviation medical examination.

A candidate cadet who receives a rating of "Unfit for military educational institution" in the test of psychophysiological qualities or physical qualities or in his medical examination shall be dropped from further participation in competitive examinations at all military educational institutions. Those who receive a rating of "Fit for military educational institution" will be permitted to sit for the written examination in their special subject.

The results "Fit for military educational institution" from the test of psychophysiological and physical qualities and from the medical examinations for candidate cadets as well as the scores on the written examination in the special subject and social science, obtained at the first higher military academy, shall, if favorable, be credited as well for the other military academies indicated in the cadet candidate's application.

The candidate cadet who places at the first military academy (G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy, N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Naval Academy) but is not accepted may report for the written competitive examination in the special subject and in social science at the second higher military academy, with the result received at the first military educational institution not taken into consideration. The scores received at the second military educational institution shall hold good also for the third higher military academy indicated in the application.

Sessions of the admissions boards will be held at G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy and N. Y. Vaptsarov Higher People's Naval Academy not later than 18 August 1985, and at V. Levski Higher People's Military Academy and G. Dimitrov Higher People's Artillery Academy not later than 23 August 1985.

Candidates who have been admitted but fail to report to the admissions boards shall be considered to have dropped out.

If admitted candidate cadets do not report on the appointed date to the academy in question, their places shall be filled with reserve candidates in the order in which the latter placed.

B. Admission of Cadets to G. Dimitrov Higher Physical Education Institute

Young men applying to be cadets at the G. Dimitrov Higher Physical Education Institute with the specialty of "Physical Training in the Bulgarian People's Army" must meet the requirements of cadets in the higher military academies. They shall submit their documents to G. Dimitrov Higher Physical Education Institute in conformity with the requirements of the Handbook for Student Candidates for 1985-1986.

They are to submit to the chief of Chavdar ASHVSM [expansion unknown] through the military administration where they are registered the following documents: application, autobiography, birth certificate, certificate showing no convictions, document indicating any preference they enjoy, transcript of completed education and a declaration that they will serve in the Bulgarian People's Army for not less than 10 years after graduation from the institute. Documents are to be submitted to the military administration by 16 July 1985.

The conditions and procedure for the holding of competitive examinations are indicated in the regulations of the G. Dimitrov Higher Physical Education Institute governing the selection of students for the 1985-1986 academic year. Extended-service men who are not due to be discharged before October 1985 shall not have a right to apply.

Young men accepted for the specialty of "Physical Training in the Bulgarian People's Army" shall have the rights and obligations of the cadets in the higher military academies.

C. Selection of MNO Scholarship Students

MNO scholarship students are to be selected in the following specialties: medicine, at the medical institutes in the cities of Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Pleven and Stara Zagora; physics, at Kl. Okhridski Sofia University--for meteorologists in the Bulgarian People's Army.

Candidate MNO-scholarship students in these specialties must meet the conditions for cadets at the higher military academies. They are to submit documents on an equal footing to the higher educational institution in question in conformity with the procedure established for candidate students. Persons successfully admitted to the civilian higher educational institutions in question (with a point score above the established minimum for the given higher educational institution) shall, not later than 10 days after the announcement of the results of the competitive examinations, submit to the military administration where they are registered the following documents: application, autobiography, medical certificate from a military hospital (for those who have performed their regular military service), medical draft card (for draftees), medical record (for servicemen), certificate showing no convictions, certificate showing point score from the higher educational institution in question where they have applied, and a declaration that they will serve in the Bulgarian People's Army for not less than 10 years on completion of their education.

Persons accepted as MNO-scholar students who have not performed their regular military service will begin their studies after discharging their obligation.

MNO-scholarship students on completion of their higher education will be taken into active military service and be assigned to units of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Additional information regarding applications to higher educational institutions can be obtained from the military academies, military administrations (unit commanders for extended-service men) and from the 1985 Handbook for Candidate Students.

6474

CSO: 2200/125

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FORGOTTEN WORK BY MOZART FOUND IN PRAGUE

Prague TVORBA in Czech 27 Feb 85 p 20

[Feature article by Ludek Hartel: "In My Opinion"]

[Text] It is said that a wish sometimes inspires an idea. And if the idea is accompanied by persistence, a seemingly small matter may produce something big, as we shall see below. Music lovers usually have their favorites. Some regard Beethoven the brightest star, while for others it is Bach or Mozart. The great master from Salzburg, Austria, visited Prague on several occasions, and in 1787 he held here the world premier of his opera "Don Giovanni." Afterwards he visited the Strahov Monastery and played the organ in the local church. And at this point, a dramatic plot begins. Norbert Lehmann, a member of the Strahov order and the assistant organist, immediately began to write down the score of Mozart's ingenious and extremely complicated improvisation. But the old composer, J. L. Oelschlegel, interrupted him, and thus Lehmann was unable to write down the score of the entire improvisation. And what happened thereafter? More than 30 years later, Professor Josef Nemecek, Mozart's first biographer, remembered Lehmann and requested him to describe this event. Lehmann did so and attached to his letter the score of the improvisation containing 57 bars. The letter and the score remained in the Strahov archive until 1910, when the German musicologist, Dr Alfred Ebert, published them together with his essay.

The course of events gathered speed about a quarter century later, which was already in our time. That was when the management of the Pantheon of National Literature in Prague decided--and here we come to the wish that inspired the idea--to record Mozart's improvisation on tape. Through the head of its music department it contacted the Prague organist, Jiri Ropek, who not only played the composition, but also composed 57 to 60 more bars to it. Thereby this work of Mozart's has actually been resurrected. Wish played a role in this, as did luck (Professor Ropek also happened to be a composer), and the desire of the Pantheon of National Literature to make the Strahov musical heritage accessible to the museum's visitors. This has been fulfilled, and interested visitors now are able to listen to this composition in the Hall of Philosophy.

But for Dr Ebert, we perhaps would not know that a score was written of Mozart's improvisation. Together with many other valuable documents, it would be lying in the archive, waiting to be discovered. And but for the wish of

the Pantheon of National Literature, Mozart's composition would not have seen the light of day. The work is finding its way abroad also through Czechoslovak Broadcasting, which has transmitted it several times over its Vltava station. As an eye-witness account, Lehmann's letter to Professor Nemecek is authoritative documentary evidence. After 150 years, it has been translated for the first time into Czech and published last year, in the latest issue of the Mozart Society's journal. Moreover, the Czech Music Collection in Prague has taken charge of this event that smacks of a sensational discovery. The collection has published the score and is distributing it free, as promotional material. The Mozarteum in Salzburg also has been informed of the rediscovery of Mozart's work.

At the Pantheon of National Literature, whose management has shown so much understanding for Mozart's forgotten work, the past merges with the present, in music as well as literature. And that is understandable, for we never cease to learn from the past. The past explains to us the present and points into the future. And history repeats itself. Once an outstanding musical center associated with the names of the composers and organists Jan Křitel Kuchar (he wrote five excerpts for the piano from Mozart's operas) and Jan Lohalíus Oelschlegel, and of the eminent historiographer Bohumír Jan Dlabac, the Strahov Monastery is continuing its involvement with music even today. The Pantheon of National Literature is contributing with its concerts to Prague's musical life that does not stop even for summer vacations. Music lovers from Prague, and foreign visitors who appreciate the high quality of our musical culture, attend the music conferences.

To mark the approaching bicentennial of the "Don Giovanni" premier that was held in Prague's Nostic Theater, the Pantheon of National Literature is sponsoring in the Strahov Monastery a special concert that will be devoted to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. All those who regard the music of the great master as the peak of perfection, and a splendid example of harmony and pure beauty, will certainly be interested in this concert.

Actually this is nothing more than further confirmation of the well-known principle that music brings nations together.

1014

CSO: 2400/301

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION DEFINED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Karel Boucek, CSR Government Office, Prague: "Living Environment and Party Policy"]

[Text] Great public interest in the problems of the living environment has been evoked by the fact that its changes are increasingly frequent and far-reaching. Let us not be surprised that people notice the negative rather than the positive changes. General attention frequently overlooks the fact that the living environment is also affected by positive influences, which often are more significant than the negative ones. This is so because the people restrict the content of the term "living environment" to nature or only to some of its aspects, such as water, air, and soil, and underestimate the fact that the environment of their life is not only nature, but also the society. From the standpoint of social effects of negative and positive changes in the living environment, the social and thus also the class relations are the dynamic factor.

The quality of the living environment is fundamentally affected by the social relations. Despite many similarities and problems, the solution of the questions concerning the living environment in capitalism differs from that in socialism--there are basic class differences in the approach to them. In capitalist society the principal qualities of the environment in which the people live are determined by the exploitation of man by man, by the trampling down of people's right to work, health and life, by the threat of annihilation of all life on earth by nuclear war. In socialist society the care of man, the improvement of his living environment, evolves on the basis of the purposeful care of people's welfare. The possibilities of solving the problems of the living environment are historically conditioned in both societies, and depend upon the social resources and social ways of making use of them.

The CPCZ regards the problems of the living environment as part of the tasks which directly affect the people's living standard. It proceeds from the premise that they cannot be detached from the people's way of life, their social guarantees, the development of socialist culture and overall care of man. It neither separates nor opposes the natural and social conditions of people's life. It does not reduce the problems of living environment only to changes in and damage to nature. It strives not to offset the progress

in the people's living standard by unnecessary negative interventions in nature. It sees in political-organizational work the principal means for coping with problems in the living environment left that are behind by the former exploitative system or that arise at the present time.

The CPCZ policy with regard to environmental problems is the policy of their solution within the historical possibilities in the system of their political goals and available means, the policy of increasing their priority. The effort of the party systematically to solve the problems of the living environment is not called forth by some urgent pressing problems only, but it is based on the long-term program and principles. Political work is regarded as the principal means of coping with them: technical, economic and other professional solutions to these problems are the instrument for the implementation of social (political) intentions in this area.

The CPCZ attitude toward environmental problems includes the formulation and gradual implementation of goals such as the creation of conditions for the most effective use of the national wealth by our citizens. Among them is the elimination of sharp differences between life in town and in the country, between various krajs and areas. The point is that the living environment of our citizens should be socially and politically homogenous, and should reflect to a minimum degree the differences in the position of citizens in the social division of labor. However, the environment should--in accordance with the citizens' rising living standard--also reflect and create conditions for their socialist way of life, for their overall development, so that a reliable basis is fully provided for the basic precondition of environmental improvement--world peace.

The main factor in achieving these goals is the successful development of our socialist society, which has enhanced our country, made it more beautiful, and carried out primarily positive improvements in the development of the living environment for the people. In those instances when in creating conditions for economic development unfavorable influences on the living environment could not be completely avoided in certain areas, such as places with extensive mining and industrial operations--for example, in the coal mining okreses near the Giant Mountains, in the Ostrava region, in the area of the Upper Nitra, and in other places where for other reasons certain aspects of the living environment are deteriorating (Prague and Bratislava)--the party policy aims at making gradual improvements in these situations, at averting such situations in other areas, and at reducing or eliminating negative effects on citizens' living environment. The program of the CPCZ for the protection of the living environment is gradually being implemented.

10501

CSO: 2400/298

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHURCH REPRESENTATIVES MEET IN PRAGUE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Mar 85 p 2

[CTK report: "Contribution of the Faithful to the Preservation of Peace"]

[Text] More than 70 representatives of the member churches of the regional association of the Christian Peace Conference met at the general assembly in Prague last Thursday.

At the meeting deputy chairwoman of the Czech National Council Marie Jarosova emphasized the need to eliminate by all peaceful means the danger of war. She recalled the events linked to the tragedy of Lidice and pointed out the danger of new neofascist and revanchist tendencies. The meeting was also addressed by the head of the CSSR Government Secretariat for Church Affairs, Vladimir Janku.

The regional Christian Peace Conference association, which represents 15 churches and religious societies active in the CSSR, evaluated the activity during the past period and set the tasks for this year. Czechoslovak churches will be host to the Sixth All-Christian Peace Meeting, which will take place in Prague from 2 to 9 July. More than 600 church representatives from the whole world are expected to take part in it.

Czechoslovak churches are also making their contribution to the solemn observance of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army, which should be an occasion not only for looking backward, but also for renewing the pledge of the faithful to increase their share in building the fatherland and thus also to secure peace in the world.

The general assembly elected a new committee, with Prof Dr Milan Salajka, dean of the Hus Faculty of Theology, as its head.

10501

CSO: 2400/298

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WESTERN PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE EFFORTS CITED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German No 2, Feb 85 p 5

[Article by Lt Col Marx, People's Police: "Psychological Warfare, in the Calculations of the Pentagon; Fact and Hints for Military-Political Training"]

[Text] At the Ninth Plenum of the SED Central Committee Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out that the aim of the confrontation and armament policy of the U.S. and its NATO allies was the achievement of world domination, "elimination of socialism, suppression of national liberation and social movement of the people. It threatens all of mankind and even the preservation of human civilization. In the final analysis, this policy of the most aggressive and reactionary imperialist circles represents a general attack on everything mankind has created in material and spiritual-cultural values. It is incompatible with the intents and historical perspectives of all of mankind, and it is destined to fail."

Nevertheless, the most reactionary circles of imperialism hope to realize their illusionary but still mankind-threatening design to turn back the wheel of history. Yet this policy, born of the crisis of their system, merely serves to point out more clearly the crisis aspects. For this reason there is more reliance in the U.S. and NATO on psychological warfare. In Western sources there has been repeated assertion that psychological warfare is "bloodless warfare," but one in which only "head shots" count, since the "targets" are human minds.

Ideological subversion, mental manipulation of the people--to this bourgeois politicians and parties cling increasingly. Why is such high importance attached to psychological warfare?

-- Initiatives of the USSR and other countries of our socialist community for strengthening peace, reducing tensions, and disarmament have gained international influence and are to be discredited.

-- Burdens that armaments and confrontation cause to their own people are growing; appropriate manipulation measures are to counteract dissatisfaction and mass protest.

-- Within the ruling classes of the imperialist states differences arise over the wisdom and consequences of the confrontation course.

-- Ideological preparation and especially the realization of the aggressive plans of the U.S. and its most loyal allies meets increasing resistance.

How do these forces carry out psychological warfare? Let us first stay with the U.S. The propaganda apparatus of the Pentagon alone produces 1,200 periodicals, including daily newspapers. There are 260 radio and 40 TV stations working for it in 30 countries. Two radio and one TV program are broadcast in Europe. The Pentagon works out special propaganda concepts. For example, five forgeries, masked as analysis or documentation were fabricated, using tailored statements about the balance of forces to serve ideological preparation for stationing new nuclear first-strike U.S. weapons in Western Europe and to thus unleash the greatest slander campaign against the USSR to date.

Another center of these manipulations is the CIA. One third of its total budget is spent on "distribution of information abroad." A total of some 2,000 full-time and 1,000 contract propagandists are active in CIA pay.

The result is evaluated even by bourgeois mass media such as SFB as follows: "Without the least scruples Reagan and his Republican party have used the findings of mass psychology and the possibilities of modern media, and have appropriated for themselves values that are as noncontroversial as they have become without substance because of their non-committal nature; and thus people who have seen the sunny side of life only on TV screens or store windows still identify themselves with success and prosperity."

To show the alleged sunny sides of imperialism and vilify socialism--that is the old recipe. The main attack of ideological diversion is directed against the socialist community, especially its main force, the USSR.

A publicly admitted aim is to drive wedges between the states of the Warsaw Treaty, to produce mistrust and even hostility toward the USSR. All too often nationalism is used in this context, and demands are made for more "independence," "autonomy," "pushback of Soviet influence," and other such. A particular variety of anti-communists and anti-Soviet attacks directed at the GDR is the so-called "internal German question." In September 1983 FRG Chancellor Kohl proclaimed in this context: "The media are the ones that help us to maintain the unity of the nation and to keep the feeling of unity awake." So here too the resources are flowing. In 1984 alone, DM 4.7 million were budgeted for pamphlets and books that serve as "information" about this artificially stoked problem.

Subsidies for fostering travel to (West) Berlin and the GDR border totalled even more-- DM 12.7 million were allocated.

For a careful observer the question arises why it is in this area where money obviously is no consideration, although elsewhere in the imperialist countries budget cuts, except for arms, are the order of the day, especially in the sphere of social affairs. We see that weapon expenditures and resources for psychological warfare are not reduced. The conclusion for us is that our analysis of the enemy is correct.

Imperialism and war are inseparable. Perils for peace and humanity radiate from the ruling forces of the main imperialist countries, regardless of the names their leading representatives bear or the party to which they belong. To meet this ideological diversion openly requires clear class awareness, a high degree of revolutionary vigilance, order, and security. We shall keep it that way in the future as well.

9240
CSO: 2300/324

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RECENT POLITICAL ALLIANCE REALIGNMENT SKETCHED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 39 No 9, 25 Feb 85 pp 34, 36-37, 40, 43

[Article: "'Pack Up and Build Somewhere Else': How the GDR Is Looking for New Partners in the West"]

[Text] The two-column item on page 1 irritated even hard-boiled readers of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

"The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker," reported the central organ of the East German Unity Party without comment, had sent the following telegram to Ronald Reagan:

"On the occasion of the start of your second term as president of the United States of America, I send you my best wishes. I take this opportunity to confirm that further constructive development of the relations between our two states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence would serve effective mutual cooperation as well as the strengthening of world peace."

Never before had an SED leader offered the German Democratic Republic as a partner to the imperialist archenemy in such unvarnished language.

The comrades were accustomed to quite a different tone. "The most aggressive circles of the United States," Honecker had said only 3 weeks earlier in his New Year's message to the East German people, "striving for world domination," were constantly developing new weapons systems, turning West Europe "into a nuclear launching ramp," and elsewhere too were "programmed for stirring up tensions and conflicts." This, said Honecker, "is being demonstrated again at present...by the aggressive machinations of the United States against free Nicaragua."

Yet the promotional message to Ronald Reagan is no slip-up. In fact, for some time now agitation against the class enemy and realpolitik have not been running parallel, with the SED making strenuous efforts to expand its relations with the capitalist states--not bypassing Bonn but going beyond Bonn.

Since the time when Honecker paid a state visit to Austria in 1980, the GDR has purposefully expanded its relations with the capitalist West. The SED

chief paid a call on Emperor Hirohito in Tokyo and at Marx-Engels-Platz in East Berlin, in addition to the neutral Vienna chancellors Bruno Kreisky (1978) and Fred Sinowatz, received three prime ministers from NATO countries --the Canadian Pierre Trudeau, the Greek Andreas Papandreu and the Italian Bettino Craxi.

Frenchman Laurent Fabius is to come to East Berlin this spring. In April Honecker is expected to go to Rome to see not only Craxi but also the pope. And finally, also this year, the East Germans will be allowed for the first time enthusiastically to welcome a real monarch in the GDR--Spanish King Juan Carlos.

The GDR, says Social Democrat Egon Bahr, "took its time with its relations with Western states"--but not so much because it was afraid of making contact as under the pressure of its circumstances. Though since 1973 almost all Western countries have maintained diplomatic missions in the GDR, East Berlin foreign policy has been entirely in the shadow of Moscow, with the SED leadership enjoying hardly any freedom of movement. Except perhaps in its Germany policy.

Not until the political crumbling of the Polish People's Republic did the GDR advance in the Warsaw alliance. Since that time East Berlin has been able to turn its economic power within CEMA also to its political advantage, and since that time the Soviets' partner with the greatest military striking power no longer has been forced to subordinate its own interests unconditionally to the claims of bloc leadership in Moscow.

The first time the GDR demonstrated its new self-confidence was more than a year ago after the stationing of Pershing II missiles in the Federal Republic. While Moscow embarked on a course of confrontation with the West, East Berlin did not follow blindly. Rather, the GDR (when it comes to war, like West Germany, the main theater of war in Europe) attempted, primarily through its contacts with Bonn, at least to keep the East-West dialogue on a back burner. Finally, in summer 1984, it was called back by the Soviets, with PRAVDA openly criticizing the SED's Germany policy and Honecker canceling his trip to the Federal Republic.

But the fact that this incident occurred, that Moscow for the first time in the history of the GDR public had to talk sense to its little partner in East Berlin, shows how big a role the SED has come to play in the East bloc's sense of power.

True, Honecker has again been acting cautiously since the reprimand, but the self-confidence of the SED leadership appears unbroken. "The GDR," announced People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann proudly last December, enjoys "great authority and great prestige" in the West because "here is a state which wants not to shoot but to talk and does not display that mad and foolhardy military agitation."

When Secretary of State George Shultz and Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko agreed on new disarmament talks between the United States and the Soviet Union in Geneva in early January, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND stated jubilantly: The

Geneva agreement "consolidates the conviction that any international problem, however complicated, can and must be solved with peaceful means."

It has not escaped the attention of the bloc leader of the West Germans--the Americans--that the status of the German Democratic Republic has changed. For years the Americans had treated the little GDR with sovereign contempt. That changed suddenly after the breakup of the Geneva missile negotiations in late 1983.

Since that time the Honecker state has ceased to be an unconditional ally of Moscow in the eyes of Washington and, because of its differences with the Soviets, has been considered a desirable partner for more intensive political relations. In October 1984 U.S. Secretary of State Shultz on the occasion of the UN General Assembly session met his East Berlin counterpart, Oskar Fischer. There had been no such summit meeting since 1978, and it was agreed to create "an expanded framework for relations."

This is happening for a start at the civil servant level. Thus Richard Burt, in charge of European affairs in the U.S. State Department, as early as February of last year met with Politburo member Hermann Axen in East Berlin. In January of this year the Americans even dispatched an emissary of the U.S. Disarmament Agency, R. Lucas Fischer, to inform the East Germans about the Geneva talks between Shultz and Gromyko. For the first time the Americans are prepared to talk further with the GDR Germans about missiles and have invited disarmament representative Ernst Krabatsch to Washington to confer with Shultz adviser Paul Nitze.

The GDR economy too has been moving into the target planning of the U.S. managers ever since a high official of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, following an inspection trip, praised the Honecker state as a "good credit risk." At a volume of about 250 million dollars, trade between the two countries is still extremely modest.

"We really rather used to talk past one another," says a U.S. diplomat, "and today that is no longer so." Above all it is the obstacles that are manifest. The Americans, without any success so far, are demanding from the GDR 79 million dollars' compensation for confiscated U.S. property--a demand which East Berlin is resisting out of fear of expensive extensions, especially reparation payments for Jewish victims of National Socialism. Only Finland has been granted a modest 3 million marks as compensation by the GDR.

In turn the Americans have ignored a wish of the East Germans. The GDR would like the United States to grant most-favored-nation treatment--that is, a guarantee that in trading with the Americans the GDR will have not to fare worse than other competitors.

Clearly the SED leaders are making an effort to have the two other victorious Western powers, France and Great Britain, certify to them that they are of international caliber in foreign affairs. They want to deepen the relations taken up in February 1973.

East Berlin keeps putting forward as emissaries a couple of Politburo members who both were put in concentration camps by the Nazis--Hermann Axen, responsible for foreign relations, and People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann.

The agile Axen was received by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in June 1981 when he visited London at the invitation of the then British foreign secretary, Lord Carrington. Francois Mitterrand too received Axen when he delivered Honecker's felicitations on the occasion of the French president's 65th birthday in Paris in October 1981.

The chairman of the State Council himself is only slightly acquainted with Western leading politicians. In 1975 Honecker met U.S. President Gerald Ford and France's Valery Giscard d'Estaing at the CSCE in Helsinki. He insists, however, on receiving in his offices any Western minister of some prestige.

To improve foreign relations, the SED leadership even puts up with domestic inconveniences. It has agreed with Italy to establish cultural institutes in Rome and East Berlin in the near future. The fact that these centers will not only demonstrate the GDR's open attitude toward the outside world but at the same time increase the East Germans' travel frustrations is troublesome but unavoidable.

The East Germans have already widened their horizon by another classic civilized country. In January 1984 French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson opened the first Western cultural institute at 37-39 Unter den Linden. The "Centre culturel francais" is operating with greater success than its GDR counterpart in the cultural metropolis of Paris, where it is leading a shadowy existence. No sooner had the French institute been opened than 400 GDR citizens registered for language courses for a fee of 130 GDR marks--expensive by Eastern standards.

Politically, however, relations with Paris are not particularly fruitful. According to a Western diplomat in East Berlin, "the French are bound to appear to the GDR like an elderly lover who has disappointed his fiancée time and again"--disappointed because the SED sees the French as likeminded people. Paris, the argument goes, really ought to make its relations with East Berlin more cordial since for selfish reasons the existence of two German states suits the French.

But not only the liaison with Bonn but also their self-confidence as a victorious power prevents the French from entering into too close relations with the East Germans. As a signatory to the Berlin agreement, France to the last detail is bent on strict observation and full application of the treaties. Because of the special Allied rights regarding Berlin, the French maintain their embassy "with the GDR" and not "in the GDR."

Also, at one of the high points of East German diplomacy, the planned visit by French Prime Minister Fabius, everything is to be done correctly, in accordance with the wishes of the victorious Western power. The visitor will get his goosestep welcome at Schoenefeld Airport, outside the East Berlin

city limits. In accordance with the French code of behavior, military honors by the GDR on East Berlin territory are ruled out.

The British won't let it come to such problems in the first place. True, the first visit to the GDR by a British foreign secretary is scheduled for 1985, but nothing much has gone on between the United Kingdom and the SED state since Minister of State Malcolm Rifkind of the Foreign Office visited East Berlin in October 1983 and said that "there are no serious problems."

After the Federal Republic and France, Great Britain is the GDR's most important trade partner among the NATO countries. Further, GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier agreed with British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe in London last year to expand the "political dialogue." And finally British diplomats too are noting in Bonn that the GDR has improved its "status in the Eastern bloc." But despite all this, Great Britain--a developing country as far as improving relations with the East is concerned, is not particularly inclined to make concessions to the intensive GDR promotion.

Honecker will have an easier time during his visit to Rome when he meets with Italy's socialist prime minister, Craxi. According to an Italian diplomat, the SED chief made "a reasonable and serious impression" on Craxi when the latter visited East Berlin last July.

Apart from the French and--lately--the Americans, the Italians are more ready than anyone to recognize the GDR's role of timid interpreter between East and West. The GDR, they say in Rome, is a "properly functioning state" where there are "no executions" but "industrious Germans" and where one can make "good deals."

While the GDR in fact also has economic motives for its policy of accommodation toward the West, these do not occupy first place, for, as the economic planners have had to come to realize, trade between capitalists and communists continues to have its narrow limits.

Having fallen far behind technologically, the GDR, poor in raw materials, has no alternative but to offer foreign currency for expensive Western technology and consumer goods. And foreign currency is always scarce. The advantages of inner-German barter will remain indispensable to the GDR for an indefinite period. Even in foreign trade with the Austrians, who after the West Germans and Yugoslavs do the most business with Honecker's state, the GDR occupies only 13th place.

An additional obstacle in the way of a flourishing business with the West is the socialist Prussians' concern for their reputation. In the early 1980's, the GDR, with 10.5 billion dollars net, had incurred debts abroad far in excess of what it could afford--not least because the Eastern managers had made the wrong estimate of how the world economy would develop. The result was that among Western banks the creditworthiness of the East German state traders slipped almost to the Polish level.

By now East Berlin has again come to be regarded as a respectable customer among Western creditors, with an international bank consortium lending

400 million dollars to the GDR Foreign Trade Bank without any public guarantee as recently as last November. But the shock of the past is deep rooted.

As yet East Berlin has not used the new credits by any means to develop its own economy technologically and thus to make it more competitive on the world market. Rather, the Eastern bankers are hoarding these millions, as well as a sum of not quite 1 billion it received last July with a Bonn guarantee. SED people explain this behavior with disarming honesty. The GDR, their unadorned argument goes, never again wants to get the reputation of a bankrupt debtor.

The economic trauma corresponds to a political fear of the East German leaders. As a small European country, the GDR suspects that over the long term it will have to suffer most as a result of the East-West fluctuations, and in the event of political changes in Europe might even be sacrificed by its protective power, the Soviet Union.

Experts on the East told the Bonn foreign minister at a closed meeting at Gymnich Castle last November that there exists a "deep-seated neutralist instinct" among GDR leaders. And a Western diplomat summed up his experience with the GDR by saying that "what they would really like to do is to pack up their country and build again somewhere else, away from any power blocs."

This longing, the GDR shares with other states. Would-be neutralists include Denmark, Greece, Belgium and the Netherlands in the West and, in addition to the GDR, Hungary and Romania in the East.

It is in this "club of the lesser countries," which is completed by the actually neutral states of Austria, Sweden and Finland, that the GDR feels most comfortable. Here, in the shadow of the big ones, the SED state cultivates its most fruitful contacts.

And it is in this club that the GDR foreign affairs people prefer to address the topics they think are really crucial--disarmament, renouncing a first strike with nuclear weapons, agreements about renouncing the use of force and nuclear-weapons-free zones.

According to Bonn diplomats, among these lesser Europeans there has long since developed a "certain basic understanding and respect, a sense of common interests which are not clearly definable." The two operators Axen and Sindermann here too are among the busiest pathfinders for East German foreign policy, having visited Athens, Brussels, The Hague, Madrid, Lisbon and Oslo in the past few years.

The dream of neutrality is illustrated best by the example of Austria.

With Austria the GDR socialists cultivate downright friendly contacts. The "excellent relations between Austria and the GDR," said Vienna's science minister, Heinz Fischer, proudly last June after a visit to East Berlin, have "remained completely unaffected" by East-West tensions.

SED chief Honecker goes so far as to describe the relations between his republic and neutral Austria as a model of East-West coexistence. In October 1984 he said: "We are thereby giving an example of how relations between states with different social systems develop positively."

So it did not bother Honecker when during his official visit last November Chancellor Sinowatz addressed West German wishes and, like Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, voiced support for better travel opportunities for East Germans.

The search for allies among the smaller partners in the West for recognizing the existing borders and not considering the German question to be open any longer is the main motive of the active Western policy of the GDR. In the opinion of former inner-German negotiator Bahr, it has long since been true that this has become more important for the SED leadership than to overcome its inferiority complex which it still carries around from the days when the GDR had to do without broad international recognition.

The Western drift of the GDR is regarded as positive in Bonn at least by the foreign minister and those CDU/CSU politicians who are adhering to a continual Germany policy. Genscher argues that if Bonn likes to maintain good relations with the other states of the Warsaw Pact, it is impossible for the Federal Government to blame East Berlin for the inverse. He says the times of the Hallstein doctrine have long since passed--the times when Bonn threatened to sever relations with any states which recognized GDR, thus ignoring the Federal Republic's claim to be the sole [German] representative.

Whoever wants to see to it that no war will ever again start on German soil, Genscher says, can only welcome the striving for good mutual relations by all states in Europe. "This applies exactly the same way to the relations of the Federal Republic of Germany and the relations of the GDR."

According to an analysis by the Foreign Minister in Bonn, inner-German interests need not suffer from the other East Berlin diplomatic activities vis-a-vis the West, for the SED leadership knows full well that it can find recognition among the other Western countries only to the extent that it is accepted by the Federal Republic. East Berlin has learned from the French example that it would be unproductive to bypass Bonn in conducting its Western policy.

Such an easygoing attitude, however, definitely meets with opposition in Bonn among such CDU politicians as Herbert Hupka and Herbert Czaja. "In some places," complains one of Genscher's officials, "the old instincts from the Hallstein era are reawakening, in accordance with the motto: The greater the isolation of the SED state, the better."

And his boss, Genscher, warns: "We have to stay away from practicing a small latter-day Hallstein doctrine."

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22 April 1985

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CURRICULUM CHANGE, MORE EFFECTIVE TEACHING OF MARXISM URGED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German No 11, Nov 84
pp 1017-1020

[Article by H. Bernhardt and F. Richter, professors, department for Marxism-Leninism, Mining Academy, Freiberg: "Realizing the Relationship Between Philosophy and Individual Sciences in Marxist-Leninist Basic Studies"]

[Text] The question raised by Kurt Wagner, whether in the relationship of philosophy and natural science a problem shift away from epistemological-methodological and to philosophical-sociological aspects can be observed and how this circumstance is to be considered for the training of future teachers of Marxism-Leninism,* is interesting from a variety of standpoints. It provokes the renewed discussion of knowledge generally regarded as certain--e.g., the functions of philosophy in relation to the individual sciences and thus also the subject of philosophy itself. At the same time, the philosopher employed in the study of the basics of Marxism-Leninism is once more stimulated to reflect on what he is actually doing on a daily basis in his practical-political and theoretical work with the rising generation of practitioners of the individual sciences, and it cannot be excluded that such reflections are capable of exposing effectiveness reserves. A critical inventory is all the more urgent because qualitatively new demands arise for the teaching of Marxism-Leninism at our colleges and universities under changed internal and external conditions, demands which also induce new reflections in regard to the goal-means relationship. Against the background of this situation, we want, first of all, to formulate some theses in order to then substantiate them--even though somewhat hastily.

1. The problem shift asserted by K. Wagner has actually taken place; in the relationship of philosophy to the technical sciences that tendency is not so strong because the philosophical-sociological problems, apart from certain exceptions (e.g., the development of a systematic heuristic by J. Mueller), have always dominated here (let us merely refer to H. Ley's "Demon Technology?").

*) Cf. K. Wagner, "On the Utility of the Alliance Between Marxist Philosophy and Modern Natural Science," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 12, 1981, p 1484; see also K. Wagner/K. Hesse, R. Munchayev, "Current Aspects of the Interrelation Between Marxist-Leninist Philosophy and the Natural, Technical and Social Sciences," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 4, 1984.

2. A more penetrating analysis, however, shows at the same time that we are not dealing with proportional changes between the different functions of philosophy in relation to the natural or individual sciences, but with historical and systematic changes in accents in the realization of the one and only uniform world view function of philosophy.
3. The realization of this function in the teaching of philosophy for practitioners of the individual sciences must differ from that in the research of the individual sciences: in teaching philosophical knowledge and philosophical convictions are to be conveyed, in research they are to be applied.
4. The teaching of the philosophy of the working class in the study of Marxist-Leninist foundations sets high standards in regard to their effectiveness in practice, which in part directly provoke lapses in logic. This means the following here: philosophy is called upon to provide direct answers to strategic, tactical, and current events questions of the students, that is, questions which are relevant to the daily life of the students and which frequently are formulated by the students sooner, in the sense of an everyday consciousness about these questions, than in a scientific articulation regarded as possible after graduation from general education.
5. Everyday consciousness, however, by comparison to scientific knowledge, is distinguished, among other things, by greater complexity and thus by disregard of the traditional objects and "competencies" of philosophy, as well as the other components of Marxism-Leninism. Dialectic and historical materialism thus sees itself confronted with special problems.
6. New adaptations in the courses of the study of Marxist-Leninism foundations are worth considering and certainly entail advantages and disadvantages. For this reason, a departure from the traditional sequence of subjects in the first year of study, all the way to experimenting with the extremes of a reversed sequence, could be proposed as a reasonable compromise.

In what follows below, these theses are to be substantiated. If our students, but also scientists in general, for example, are interested in how, under the conditions of socialist production relations, a higher contribution of the (natural) sciences to the increase of labor productivity can be obtained, and ask the philosopher about this, but by contrast show only limited interest in the epistemological problems of their subject (which the students in the first year of study in any case hardly know), this, to begin with, really speaks for Wagner's thesis. In short, the issue is nothing less than the linkage of the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. At issue is the development of specific stimuli for the development of science, indeed even the search for "pressures for creativity".* Questions are then quickly added concerning the relationship of economic and science policy, the innovation strategy of combines, and the construction of the cycle of science --technology--production, but also about problems of college education, the mobility of cadres, and the subjective conditions for (existing or lacking)

*) R. Mocek, "Thoughts on Science" (Berlin, 1980), p 132.

creativity. But these are certainly no longer "philosophical-sociological questions, but problems which reach into the subjects of the most diverse sciences; at least they are no philosophical questions specifically relevant to natural science, but those of the most diverse social sciences--from the political economy of socialism to the science of science--inasmuch as "philosophical" questions are involved at all.

An analysis of our problem leads to the existence of different planes which, viewed systematically, represent adjustments in the form of reciprocal substantiation contexts. On each plane concepts emerge which are respectively defined there and must be "accepted" into the language of the philosopher (in the sense in which in the meta language the terms of the object language occur), if the philosopher wants to express himself as philosopher on the practice of socialist society. In the everyday consciousness of the students, even if it is frequently shaped by scientific knowledge, these different planes and concepts occur in close connection, as practice, too, after all represents a connection of those processes and structures which only in their (relative) isolation from one another can be specific objects of precisely those theoretical planes. A transmission of knowledge about these processes occurring in socialism, which faithfully limits itself to one subject of a discipline, appears to the student as abstract. The attempt to make a theory thus presented come alive through examples encounters--independent of the subjectively conditioned mastery of the teacher in the study of Marxist-Leninist foundations--two objectively conditioned limits: the mere illustration of theoretical tenets without power of demonstration; the rendering independent of the example in relation to relevant theory as expression of still not yet sufficient concretization. The good teacher in the study of Marxist-Leninist foundations moves within the latitude provided by these limits; at the same time, the success depends on the extent to which the unity of the components of Marxism-Leninism has really been mastered and beyond this results of other sciences are being assimilated.

Our experience has repeatedly forced us into a discussion about a better substantive division of the three courses (Dialectical and Historical Materialism, Political Economy, and Scientific Communism/History). A higher philosophical effectiveness of our instruction does not get past this task. The efforts of the teacher are assessed by the student on the basis of whether he receives a convincing answer to this question. The abundance of events and experiences rushing in on the student especially during the first year of study, therefore, frequently leads to a very critical estimate, in which the most important basis for critical assessment is not the repetition of philosophical knowledge prior to college study, but a repetition that does not clarify the dialectic of the ideal versus reality. If the attempt to clarify this dialectic is not successful, theory, in particular, philosophical theory, is called into question. The study of Marxist-Leninist foundations, therefore, requires a model which permits the transmission of the theory of Marxism-Leninism effectively under the conditions of precisely that form of studies. In the more than 30-year-history of the study of Marxist-Leninist foundation that has gone on in the meanwhile, work has already been done in accordance with different models, which at any given time basically retained the components of Marxism-Leninism, but varied the

sequence. Philosophy at the beginning of the education is logical insofar as philosophy is the ideological foundation of the other two components as well. The price of this advantage is the disadvantage that the comprehensive theoretical substantiation of the strategy of the SED through scientific communism can follow only toward the end of the college education. Since philosophy in the GDR is taught in systematic form already in the expanded secondary school, it would of course be possible to begin in college directly with political economy or scientific communism. If the argument were made that the previous knowledge from the pre-college time are too differentiated, one could counter with the argument that similar problems also appear in the transition from one to the next year of study. In the stipulation of the current sequence of the courses, one should therefore for one thing raise the question concerning the increase in effectiveness, which could possibly be attained through a relinquishment of the traditional taxonomy of the subjects of instruction. That which, to begin with, gives many students great difficulties, viz., the segments Basic Question of Philosophy, Concept of Matter, Determinism, and Theory of Cognition, would then have to be developed from within the complex of problems of historical materialism.

Thus we have once again arrived at the original question about the role and function of philosophy. In teaching in the study of Marxist-Leninist foundations, the important thing is to show that the categories of the materialist dialectic encompass and explain the more specific concepts of the individual sciences and--conveyed through these--the processes and structures of praxis or reality, and thus supply a philosophical foundation of how man, on the gaining of freedom. The subject of philosophy in the actual sense, in other words, is not simply the general laws in nature, society and thinking: Rather the subject of philosophy is the action of men (first of all, essentially of classes) in concrete historical situations with respect to those general laws. The opposition between realism and idealism, fundamental to philosophy,* forces a classification of the specific laws into one of two basic philosophical systems and thus once again compels a philosophical decision. If such a philosophical decision refers to methodological questions, one can call this the "methodological" or the "heuristic function"; if problems of the responsibility of the scientist in society are involved in so doing, this would be the "ideological function". The hitherto customary division into three parts reduces the philosophical function to the theoretical-systematic coordination of concepts of philosophy and the individual sciences.

In other words, the tendency stated by Wagner reflects changes in accents in the realization of the world view function of philosophy towards open questions. Whether genetics is reconcilable with dialectical materialism was 20 years ago ideologically as relevant as the question concerning the advantages of socialism for the development of science is today. The change in problems results, in my view, therefore primarily in the direction of the investigation of philosophical problems of the social sciences, in connection with which we want to assert that here, too, methodological questions again will become the focus, after the responsible social scientists have turned to the problems under consideration or when the knowledge already available there becomes

* Cf. "Bourgeois Society and Theoretical Revolution." Edited by M. Hahn and H. J. Sandkuehler, Cologne, 1978, p 13.

accessible to a philosophical interpretation. The world view function of philosophy is thus realizable only as methodological work, and a comparison of different functions loses its meaning.

This determination of the subject of philosophy happens to possess precisely what one should in fact expect from a dialectical determination: it leads the activity of the philosopher with respect to his subject to the point where it ceases to be a philosophical activity. That is the sublimation of philosophy, which, however does not lead to the disappearance of philosophy (otherwise, it would not be dialectical). We can call this process concretization, in the course of which there must be a final outcome for the individual sciences, which would not be possible without philosophical analysis--in the process, it makes no difference in which form the cooperation necessary for this is realized. Such a result would be present when it proves possible to eliminate methodological (this word taken in the broadest sense, up to and including ethical problems) uncertainties (crises or revolutions in science*) or not to let them develop at all ("normal science" according to Kuhn).

We can proceed from the fact that the unity of the preservation of peace and social progress, to be realized in our time, for the development of science, too, represents a revolutionary situation, and in fact transcends all of its branches. World view is of vital importance there.

*) Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-criticism," in W. I. Lenin, "Werke" [Works], Vol 14, Berlin, 1962; Th. S. Kuhn, "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions," Frankfurt/Main, 1973.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BISHOP HEMPEL'S MESSAGE TO HONECKER CITED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 26 Feb 85 p 6

[Article by "Ws." datelined Berlin 25 Feb 85: "'Thank You, Mr Chairman, for Making This Meeting Possible'"]

[Text] There are a number of open and unresolved questions between state and church in the GDR. They concern discrimination against Christian children and youths in the educational system, the increasing militarization of society including obligatory military training for all pupils and apprentices, questions of conscientious objection and substitute service, and independent peace and environmental protection activities of Christian groups. For example, Protestant church leaders for years have tried in vain to have a clarifying talk about the "communist education" of all children and youngsters, mandatory in the GDR, with those in charge of national education--preferably with Minister Margot Honecker personally.

On 11 February, a meeting took place in East Berlin between GDR State Council chairman Honecker and Bishop Hempel, Dresden, chairman of the Conference of Governing Bodies of the Evangelical Churches. In this talk, Bishop Hempel asked the State Council chairman for a meeting with the entire board of the Conference of Evangelical Church Governing Bodies, in order to discuss these unresolved questions. Honecker agreed to such a meeting. The Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR has long been urging a continuation of the discussion process between church and state in order to come to "manageable settlements." The first, and so far only, fundamental talk between State Council chairman Honecker and the board of the Conference of Governing Bodies of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR took place on 6 March 1978. At that time, a number of concrete settlements were agreed upon. It is the objective of the Federation of Churches--and the recent meeting between Honecker and Bishop Hempel served this purpose--to again bring to the public's attention the continuity of the church policy pursued by the state since 6 March 1978.

In the following, we discuss Bishop Hempel's address to Honecker at the meeting on 11 February. "In view of the factual discussion to be held" between the highest levels of church and state, "the address of the chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches did not attempt to present individual subject matters of concern," states a "summary information" of the secretariat of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, in which all superintendents, ecclesiastical offices and church parishes were informed

of the text of the address. What is remarkable about the text is the fact that half of it concerns the subject of "peace," and that the relationship between church and state is relegated to second place. Although both subjects are closely connected--the relationship between church and state is, after all, directly linked with internal peace--, the text indicates the church's willingness to put unresolved questions between church and state in second place in the interest of the task of preserving peace, i.e., to consider them of lesser importance. This has led to protest in many GDR church parishes.

"I thank you that, by changing your official schedule, you have made this meeting possible today.

In 2 days, you will be opening the reconstructed Semper Opera House in Dresden. This will be on 13 February, the fortieth anniversary of the destruction of Dresden. As far as we know, many people from our country and from other countries--and, of course, many citizens of Dresden--will take part in this event. Your presence, and what you will say, will express the priority position of your efforts for the preservation of peace. We attach particular importance to the event and symbolism of this day. With you, we are convinced that a new war must be prevented with all our strength.

The Executive Committee meeting of the World Council of Churches in Geneva has just ended. Thus I have just come from that city where disarmament negotiations have finally been resumed. The members of the Executive Committee have registered this with relief and have prayed for the success of these negotiations.

The synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, for example, has for years, that is repeatedly, emphasized the incomparable importance of successful disarmament negotiations and has resisted the spirit and logic of deterrence. I am also not saying anything new for the church when I add: every further progress in weapons technology on earth or in space, every increase or assembly of new military potential in Europe or elsewhere does not lead to greater security; it is the opposite of reason, it harms us all and furthermore, it is directed against the right to life of the poor nations.

"There Must Not Be Another War"

In a considerable number of Christian parishes--also in our country--such convictions have taken root. What links the peace policy of the government of the GDR and the Christian peace activities in church parishes of our country are the people, who are citizens of the GDR and, to a large extent, also members of Christian churches. We are jointly aware of the seriousness of the international political situation. There must not be another war: this joins us together. The fact that our church peace activities are not in all cases uniform and that we also have pacifist-oriented Christians, for example, in my opinion does not impair the joint priority task of preserving the peace.

In this context, dear Mr Chairman of the State Council, I should like to personally express my esteem to you for having carried on talks during the

present complicated international political situation with politicians of other countries, despite different orders of society and different treaty ties.

The Federation synod at its meeting in Greifswald in September 1984 has emphasized the efforts with which the GDR state has contributed to the preservation of peace in Europe. This Federation synod also stated its willingness to put unresolved questions between church and state behind the task of preserving peace. And it saw a peace-promoting meaning in the fact that state and church, despite some difficulties, are willing to work on the preservation and deepening of the trust that has grown up.

Now I should like to say something on the relationship between state and church. You, Mr State Council Chairman, have pronounced works of appreciation for the active cooperation of Christian citizens in the building of socialist society. I have no doubt that your words are received consciously and alertly by those addressed. I think I can assure you that especially among the Christian citizens of our country there is a willingness and even a need to remain involved in the manifold tasks of developing the socialist society, responsibly and according to their personal talents.

We of the Evangelical Churches of our country continue to regard highly your meeting with the then board of the Conference of Church Governing Bodies on 6 March 1978. Since that encounter, relations have developed to a remarkable extent between church and state which combine the constitutional and proven principle of separation of church and state with reasonable, concrete work relationships on the basis of mutual good will and respect.

I have been asked to present to you, Mr State Council Chairman, the church board's request for another talk within the near future on subject matters pending at present.

With regard to the relations between church and state, we can speak of a developing continuity. The principle of equal respect and equal rights for all citizens regardless of their ideology, affirmed by you on 6 March 1978, has given hope particularly to many Christian citizens. Without doubt, you are as aware as we are that today, there are open and unresolved questions between state and church. Some Christians, for instance, cannot recognize clearly enough their established place within the socialist society. We in the church, therefore, wish for manageable guidelines for some areas of our societal life for the further realization of equal rights and equal respect for Christian citizens, also.

This notwithstanding, I would like to assure you that we are quite aware and have consciously taken note of the church policy of the government of the GDR, characterized by reason, good will and continuity.

We on our part proceed on the assumption that in the future, also, talks between you and us offer the best possibility of bringing about clarification

of various factual matters. We have had such experiences with the state secretary for church questions, and also with representatives of many district councils.

Many tasks presented by the church or state have been tackled objectively. We have learned that representatives of the state, once they have "said yes", they also "do yes." We have become more "transparent" to each other, and that means more reliable. Mr. Chairman of the State Council, we trust that such a church policy will also continue in the future.

Trust between you and us will grow to the extent that it can be experienced by the people at the grassroots level.

We wish you, Mr. Chairman, continued wisdom, strength and patience for your responsible office. In our church services we often pray for the preservation of peace, but also for you."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

COMMUNICATIONS SCHOOL GETS NEW DESIGNATION

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 49, 1984 (signed to press 3 Dec 84) p 8

[Article by Lt Col Wilfried Kopenhagen: "Military-Technical School 'Herbert Jensch;' New in the GDR College and Technical School Registry"]

[Text] Effective 1 September 1984 the Communications Training Center "Herbert Jensch" in Frankfurt/Oder was redesignated the Military-Technical School for Communications Services by order of the Minister for National Defense. Its history goes back more than 20 years. On 1 November 1963 a training section was established for the purpose of training communications noncommissioned officers in a variety of specialist areas. About 15 years later it became a teaching facility of the communications services, dedicated to training noncommissioned officer candidates, to advanced training for career non-commissioned officers to become warrant officers. However, only the "Ernst Thaelmann" Officer Training Academy was empowered to issue the technical training certificates. With the redesignation into a military-technical school this facility has been entered into the registry of GDR colleges and technical schools. Hereafter, the warrant officer candidates will, simultaneously with their graduation from the military-technical school, receive the professional diploma of telecommunications engineer. Apart from this career ladder, there is a second one toward becoming a warrant officer: career communications noncommissioned officers, having completed 3 to 4 years of field service, can attend a one-year course at the Military-Technical School "Herbert Jensch" and thereafter become warrant officers. They have the right and the duty after 2 years of field service to submit a thesis and after defending it successfully at the military-technical school they receive the engineering diploma.

Applied Research Subjects Required

To make all engineering research theses have as much practical value as possible, some of the subjects are chosen with a view to let them become part of the training curriculum. With the active support of training officers and instructors, this procedure has thus far resulted in creating not only a sprinkling of training aids, but entire complexes. One example of this is the two-sided radio polygon, which enables 12 trainees on each side to initiate radio traffic with the others. There is an option of simulating combat noise along with this. This facility was created as a new invention by members of the school. The polygon makes it possible to conduct intensive service traffic in shifts and for long periods of time. In the experience of

of the training officers, this is preferable to spreading it out over a few hours and throughout the week. There is a similar facility for teletype machines.

Another group of subjects for engineering research theses comes from the units and sections themselves. Here the objective is to solve field communications problems on a theoretical basis. As a matter of fact, this is the exact type of subject matter which will be needed at the Military-Technical School "Herbert Jensch" during the foreseeable future. The headquarters concerned are requested to forward such proposals to the school.

Equipment Similar to That of a Mobile Detachment in the Field

To accomplish the many elements of its mission, the military-technical school, commanded by Colonel Guenter Rozinat, has experienced and well-qualified training officers who have been assigned there for many years. Prominent among the use these training officers make of their experience and knowledge is a continuous improvement of the training equipment: all training sets in use in the classrooms have the same configuration as those used by a mobile detachment in the field. For example, in a course dealing with the R-404 intermediate channel number radio relay station, the left-hand part of the set can be pulled forward. This immediately imparts to the trainee the feeling that he is sitting in the operational vehicle. The R-404, which is intended to serve as an element of a message center, is fully operational and capable of establishing communication with another R-404 which might be out in the field.

Spot checks in other classrooms show the same conditions: such items as the R-142/145 instruments used in command vehicles; the R-450M radio receiver; the R150M1 remote control unit; or the R-140 medium-range single sideband motor vehicle unit--all are interconnected and fully operational.

The Objective: Expert Handling of Communications Equipment

These are means for creating realistic conditions for the students. The future warrant officers receive here the engineering knowledge which will enable them to operate any type of communications equipment in the proper fashion. Great emphasis is placed also on training them to levels of capability and proficiency which will enable them to operate the equipment flawlessly even under pressure by time and complex situations.

The task of the trainees consists of acquiring practical knowledge which is needed in the field and which will provide field operations in strict accordance with regulations. A graduate of the military-technical school is capable in field duty to assume positions up to platoon leader (detachment or station commander) and to direct all types of training of the soldiers and noncommissioned officers in his unit.

Also, the instructors emphasize the following: future communications specialists have particular chances for success if they have a good ear for music (especially for radio operators), if they have solid basic knowledge in the social sciences and if they have been previously active in communications exercises with the GST [Society for Sport and Technology].

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MILITARY ACADEMY DEPUTY CHIEF CITES INSTRUCTIONAL GOALS

East Berlin WOCHENPOST in German Vol 32 No 9, 1 Mar 85 p 3

[Interview with Maj Gen Heinz Bilan, deputy chief of the 'Freidrich Engels' Military Academy in Dresden, date and place of interview not indicated: "The Men with the Red Triangle"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade General, the "Freidrich Engels" Military Academy is now in its 26th year of instruction and research. How many generals and officers of our National People's Army [NVA] are now wearing the red triangle of a graduate?

[Answer] In this quarter century the highest military teaching and research facility of our republic has graduated about 5,000 officers. Today you can meet our former students in almost every unit, almost every installation of the NVA and of the GDR border troops. They can be recognized by the red graduate insignia with the likeness of Friedrich Engels. Some examples of the many I would like to mention: Lt Gen Gerhard Lorenz, deputy chief of GDR border troops and chief of the Political Administration, Maj Gen Guenter Moekel, commander of a unit of the ground forces, and Maj Gen Rolf Berger, commander of a unit of the air force/air defense. Or just look at the Military Academy itself where graduates are instructing, such as Col Prof Dr Arnold, chairman of one of our departments, or Maj Gen Zeh, commander of a section and the first general with the red triangle in our institution. We are proud that former Dresden officer students enjoy great prestige everywhere in the army and navy--in our NVA as well as in the Soviet army and other fraternal armies.

[Question] Do officers of the armies of friendly countries study at our Military Academy in Dresden?

[Answer] Yes. Among our current students are officers from the USSR, the Polish PR, CSSR, and the Vietnamese SR. We consider this a great show of trust on the part of our friends, something that also speaks of the quality of our teaching and research. On the other hand, many NVA officers (myself included) have studied at military academies in the USSR and other socialist countries. Thus comrades who had obtained their diplomas in Moscow, Warsaw, or Prague participated in the reception for graduates of military academies given by Erich Honecker, SED secretary general, chairman of the Council of

State and the GDR National Defense Council. Close working relations with the 14 academies of the USSR and ties to the military teaching and research institutions of the other fraternal armies are of great value to us. The comrades in arms of the Soviet army have supported our academy's work from the very beginning by word and deed.

[Question] What are the differences between the instructors and students from the first class and the teachers and students of today?

[Answer] Their attitude is the same, especially their readiness to apply their knowledge and skills, their entire personality on behalf of our socialist cause; the prerequisites that they faced or face now are different. Many activists of the first class, those who worked for the development of our workers' and peasants' state were along at that time, and some still are. Many a people's policeman who walked his beat in the first postwar years stands today as professor behind the podium. Thanks to the constant care of our party and state leadership, and with the help of Soviet comrades the transition from a Hochschule [college] to an academy became possible--this was of course a qualitative leap.

[Question] Who was the first commandant of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy, and what distinguishes its faculty?

[Answer] Maj Gen Heinrich Dollwetz, a veteran of Spain, was appointed first chief; unfortunately, he has died. He was followed by Maj Gen Friedrich Johne who also had fought with the International Brigades. As you know, he was later the ambassador of our republic to Cuba. Representing the many anti-fascist resistance fighters, mention should be made of Maj Gen Paul Blechschmidt and Col Otto Schwab who were active with us. Loyalty to the cause of the working class and its party has been and still is the unquestionable prerequisite for teachers and students of the Military Academy.

Many a gap in education was overcome with the development of the teaching and research facility. At that time only every fifth faculty member had a college degree, and only the very few had had a major in education. Today every other member has obtained a doctorate, and every seventh is an instructor or professor. Many of our comrades who started with an eighth grade education have long since obtained their first and second doctorates. Every third one studied in the USSR and almost all know Russian well enough to make full use of Soviet military science literature in the original.

[Question] What changes have taken place among the students over the last 25 years?

[Answer] The word student has only limited applicability to the officers attending the Military Academy, since they have already studied at a military college and have commanded personnel as, for example, battalion commanders or deputy commanders. They are tried men, with high education and extensive experience who come to us. The students in the early years were usually older. Sons of workers and peasants who had experienced the war, they had great experience but also considerable gaps in their education that had to

be closed. Today the student officers are usually barely 30 years old. All of them have gone through secondary education, attended a military college for three years, and have had five to seven years of troop unit experience.

[Question] How long do they stay here in Dresden and where do they go from here?

[Answer] Our main task is to train commanders, political officers, and staff officers for positions of responsibility in the Ministry of National Defense, the staffs, formations and units of all services, GDR border troops, and in other sectors of national defense. After a three year residency the officer student receives the academic title of certified military scientist, or a diploma in the social science, or, after four years, he becomes a certified engineer. Non-resident study lasts one year longer. Instructional activity with its lectures, seminars, and exercises resembles a university, but there is of course also specifically military instruction in the military departments and in the field, as well as combinations of instructional demonstrations and participation in troop exercises. The number of subjects is very extensive and extends from philosophy (but especially operational, tactical and military technological training) to psychology, pedagogy, problems of natural sciences and technology to language studies and sports. We also have continuing education courses for cadre members who have finished their academic education.

[Question] Could you tell us something about research activity of the Military Academy?

[Answer] We consider our primary task to be an analysis of the most recent realizations of Soviet military science, and carrying out our own research in order to make a contribution to NVA and GDR border troop combat readiness, and lay a basis for education and training. The former is due to the fact that the Soviet army is not only the main force in our military coalition and has all categories of weapons, but also because it is the most experienced and strongest army in the world that has decisively defeated all aggressors. Research in our academy is pursued in close cooperation with the colleges and scientific institutions of our country, especially of our garrison town of Dresden.

[Question] How many scholarly publications a year come from Dresden?

[Answer] Our original research in various areas of national defense and military technology is reflected in monographs, textbooks and service regulations. On the average some ten books and more than 200 articles in scholarly journals are published by members of the academy faculty annually. Topics extend from analysis of modern wars to conservation of fuels and lubricants.

[Question] Comrade General, is there in your opinion something like a common denominator for all these projects?

[Answer] As the highest NVA military educational facility the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy contributes its part to fulfilling the class mission

of the 10th SED Party Congress. At the 9th meeting of the SED Central Committee it was found that the further shaping of a developed socialist society makes it necessary "to see ever more thoroughly the interaction of political, social, intellectual-cultural and military tasks and to meet them accordingly."

In this spirit we--like the entire NVA--will make every effort to join in the great mass initiative of preparing for the 11th SED Party Congress. On this path the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty and the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people are reasons for meeting our alliance obligations at a high military standard, and to make our contribution at the side of the Soviet army and other fraternal armies to ensure that the struggle of our peoples for peace and socialism will at all times be militarily secure.

* * *

Heinz Bilan was born in 1931 into a worker family, trained as a machine mechanic and worked in the VEB Loading and Transportation Machines in Leipzig. An SED member since 1948 he joined the ranks of the armed forces in the founding year of our republic and served successively as political officer at company, battalion, regiment, and division level. From 1954 to 1959 he attended the Lenin Academy and from 1964 to 1969 the Soviet General Staff Academy.

Comrade Bilan is member of the SED Dresden district directorate. He is married, father of three grown children.

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HUNGARY

'PUNK' STAR INTERVIEWED, DESCRIBES TRIALS, TRIBULATIONS

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian No 12, 1984 pp 86-91

/Interview with Nagy Fero by Agnes Sesztak: "The Nation's Cockroach"/

/Text/ Beatrice died three years ago. But the legend lives today, and the cassettes of "On my Knees", "No Thanks" and "Ballad of a Big-city Wolf" are respectfully passed down from hand to hand.

The members of the group have broken up: after many delays and failures, Nagy Fero founded Bikini. Two of their albums have already appeared. From Beatrice there is nothing, no records, no film, no books, no posters. Only the legend and the myth remains. And Nagy Fero, who once wore the distinguishing title "The Nation's Cockroach" on his shirt, now has his hair cut to a few centimeters long and sings Laborc in "Stephen, the King." A professional musician. In what he knows and does, he is straight-A, but his passion and his fever have burned to ashes. Today he is able to control himself for the press, is even downright helpful:

"Well, what do you want to know?"

/Question/ Tell me about your childhood.

/Answer/ My parents were Szekely refugees who ended up in Hungary during the war. My childhood was good and my family was close. We were very poor. We lived in Kobanya, in a warehouse converted into emergency housing. Among other reasons, this is why I am perfectly happy in luxurious Bekasmegyer, where my mother invited me to live.

/Question/ When did you first "find" music?

/Answer/ I remember two things from my childhood: one is a parish feast when they were singing some gorgeous religious song at the top of their lungs, and the other is Suliko, Stalin's favorite song. I found it touchingly beautiful. Then in 1964 the Rolling Stones came and swept everything away--the Beatles too, who were so sweet. We listened to "Teenager Party" and copied the songs down phonetically. I set up my first band in honor of the Stones--it was named Richmond's Heads.

/Question/ Did you learn to play an instrument?

/Answer/ No, but I play at least a bunch of them. If I want to, I can play guitar very well, and just the other day I was playing Bartok on the piano, also excellently. My first serious band was the Zarvateruo /Angiosperms/. We played at the Rakoskert cultural center, out of love or sometimes for 40 forints. Meanwhile I graduated and applied for electric mechanic's training. I also played music, and my hair and my critical viewpoint grew simultaneously. The world of the adults stood in my way, they were getting more and more nervous about my music, my being separate, my being different. The turning point of my life was when a policeman caught me on the Arpad Bridge, and without so much as a word took me to a barber and head my hair cut.

Helpless and humiliated, I cried. That made me defiant for life. I felt that they had violated my basic freedoms. I began to learn about life, but I had a long way to do.

/Question/ You almost became an engineer.

/Answer/ Yes. Although I graduated with average grades--which I felt was unfair--I was accepted on my first try at the day program of Kando college. I never fit in with the boys there, I was not interested in grades, I did not care that I was becoming a "leader." Then a little episode sealed my fate, I met an old classmate who became a locksmith at Northern Vehicle Repair. "And I am going to be an engineer," I boasted. Later, for a long time I analyzed the reason for the bad feeling that came over me afterwards. Who am I, what am I that I speak in such a voice? What will I become if the sheer lifting of physical labor is obnoxious to me? I lost faith in college, and when once I was chasing after the administrative permissions for a make-up exam, I suddenly realized that I had no business in Kando. I had a semester to go before I was to get my diploma.

/Question/ How did your parents react?

/Answer/ Poor things, it was a tragedy for them, made worse because I started to play again. Meanwhile I worked as a mechanic, a beer shipper's hired help, and a warehouseman. I showed myself that I could perform any kind of work perfectly. Then I joined the original Beatrice, when it was still a female band. Monika Csuka was the lead guitarist, later became my wife. I felt then that we were strong enough musically to sign up for ORI /National Production Office/ auditions. Boy, did we practice, this was going to be a real test of strength. They kicked us out in two minutes. But Prophet, much weaker than us, made it through. So we split up and Prophet looked me up to be their leader. I told them I did not make it through the auditions. Phooey! They took me into ORI, they told them what a talented, smart boy I am, and in two minutes I had the

paper in my pocket. So there, I learned another lesson. Prophet changed its name and we became Beatrice again: our repertoire was loose; "Yardbirds," "Deep Purple," "Black Sabbath." I had to make a living because my daughter was born. We waded into disco, I wrote my disco song "Come on, Girl," and in 1977 we played it on "Audience Choice." They even invited us to GDR three times without anyone playing manager. Then there was the dance music festival when they would not accept a single one of our songs but we were allowed to accompany the vocalists. The festival itself is disgusting because everything is decided beforehand--even the rankings are preordained. But all this did not even begin to bear up to my bad feelings. I know I would not take it for long. I grovelled, I bowed, my waist was as low as the floor, I served others grinning like a lackey--and the whole while I had a hundred times more to say than these clowns. And at home I had to keep it in the closet because nobody was interested.

/Question/ Did you blow up?

/Answer/ The band broke up again. Monika and I parted ways too. She wanted security, comfort and money. I did not anymore. My goals were completely different. I started a new band. Of course, I lied to them. I said that we would play senseless rock music and the money would come pouring in. I could not tell them that we would be a needy, banned, one-night stand. The lineup was Tibi Donasy, Laszlo Lugossy, Lajos Mikloska and Nagy Fero. I came across an AC/DC tape. First I just sampled it, then it drove me crazy. I told Mikloska that he could write that stuff. He is a genius, you know. He is a Judas-type, who prepared for the role of Judas all his life, then he finally sang it in "Jesus Christ Superstar" in the Korong. At the beginning of the seventies, they ordered it off the stage because of its clerical nature. This was the end of Mikloska, now Jesus Christ is coming down the pipe. Was that necessary? So Jericho and Motorized Nation were born. Once we were playing in the Buda Youth Park, and I see twenty punk kids come in and lean on their elbows in front of the stage. I said to Mikloska: "If one thousand of them come in, then this will be our audience." At the time the official teeny band was Piramis. The other parts were filled too: disco belonged to Neoton, P. Mobil was the mainstream and the hard-rock opposition was Edda. No one backed Beatrice. So we put on the leather and the safety pins. I admit we looked aggressive, but the truth is I was always a punk, they just put the sequins on me once in a while. We had a stable audience of 500-600 people. Along with the punks, the avant-garde intelligentsia came to us willingly. Beatrice knew something and phrased it to the worker kids, the school kids and the intellectuals so that everybody understood. Just like Attila Jozsef. Of course, this is in quotation marks because to me, he is the king. Naturally, they did not like this. It is not true that we manipulated the audience: we did not encourage them to take over authority, but

neither did we encourage them not to work. We were screaming our own banishment and our bad feelings to the world, so here is where we found common ground with the punks, who were also squeezed out to the periphery of society. We knew from the beginning that the problem was not with the country, it was with the world. We held a mirror to the kids: "This is how you are--we all are." Naturally, society does not take it kindly if people do not accept its ready-made values. Especially if they smack society with the fact that the values themselves are bad. The judgement was made: aggressive, fascist gang. We caught it. Hobo and P. Mobil too.

/Question/ Why, do you think?

/Answer/ Imagine a huge crowd where you have wandered in, a stranger. A star stands out in front of the crowd and yells "leapfrog!" The crazed crowd yells back, "leapfrog!" You are not in on it, you do not understand a thing. It was just like that with Beatrice. I yelled "lekopo-jaiy!" It is total nonsense. The kids scream it right back, "Jaiy!" I go "Jaiy?" They go "Jaiy!" Imagine the person who sees this from the outside: he sees that the crowd and the dude understand each other well, and he is afraid. Because this is just like Sieg Heil! Fascists! And that is it!

/Question/ What was your ideology?

/Answer/ I do not know what to answer. Beatrice's whole history was hardships and coercion. It started when powerful people in the 168 Radio Hours program slandered us irresponsibly. They called us a punk band without knowing what we do. They asked me for an interview, and not a single word of that was aired: but the reporter lied all over, saying that we chained ourselves together on stage and incited the kids against work. Of course, not a word of it was true. What did we sing about? The first Beatrice was all compromise, and still we did not accomplish anything. The new band decided to be absolutely clean, not to belong to any interest group. We were not even interested in recording. Our songs were provocative? Well a young person really cannot get an apartment today. Even I do not have one for myself. If you go to work, you cannot be smart then either, especially not if your are smarter than your boss, because he is your boss. When you want to demonstrate for peace you are not needed; they will call you when you may march. And if you say in the seminar that we are not going to laugh through the economic crisis, then they call you destructive and tell you to give up the lip. And then the crisis has come, then you realize that they pushed you through the seminar. They went to force the whole value system on you, or if you have doubts about its reality, they they label you a deviant. Just try to form an independent opinion in the schools. Dare to say in Hungarian class that at seventeen a poem for you is shit, but P. Mobil is where it is at. Or dare to be bored with the opera "Bank Ban" when you are an adolescent, only as an adult can you venture to say that is a horribly boring and unlikely story...You just cannot.

/Question/ Whom did you sing for, besides the punks?

/Answer/ We got to know lots of institutionalized kids, occasionally much more closely and deeply than even their foster parents or their guardians. Our people were the mentally torn, those who thought differently--but not in Free Europe's way. We played for those who did not accept everything secondhand, but doubted and wanted to perceive reality for themselves. And the other half of our audience was the well-situated and consolidated bourgeois school crowd, college kids and young intellectuals. We thought alike. But no matter how much we shouldered the punks, the key to the problem was far from our reach. We could not change the fact that in some institutions they raise the kids with billy clubs, that there are homosexuals among the guardians. We could not lock up the father who rapes his daughter or the stepfather who regularly sleeps with his stepdaughter. We could not show the way to the kids coming out of the institutions, who start life without housing or illusions. But at least we did not lie to them. We told them that the situation will not improve, it will just continue, maybe even worsen. These kids have few options: there is no illusion of a family to warm them, and an apartment is an impossible dream. And today, the minimum feeling of freedom is impossible without one: how can you have a place, a little room, where you can do what you want? Where can the young people lead sexual lives? I think it is terribly important that this go smoothly. On the street? Inside the fence? In the telephone booth? Finally, it happens in front of the adults' eyes, and we know their reaction: "These are animals. They should be locked up in concentration camps!" They do not even imagine that these young people have no other choice. If they do not accept the endless stress and subservience which does not even lead to the apartment because prices are going up and money is depreciating, then they can accept the other possibility which is not really a possibility at all: being outside of society. In our society, no one can starve to death: the council will give a little assistance, this and that can be sold, one can wheedle or beg. I find it a very telling sign that I, Nagy Fero, can be an example for someone in the late seventies. I thought a lot about this, and I decided that there are serious problems with family life as well. Today's mothers and fathers do not love their children. The kids spoke to us with immeasurable hatred and contempt of their parents, but not because they do not get enough money or their clothes are not stylish enough. At times like that I always think of the chilly terms I am on with my mother.

/Question/ These parents claim that you ruined their children.

/Answer/ O sure. Imagine the man who became a communist in the forties. This man helped build the socialist society, and his little dream within it. And then along comes a man, for the record his own son, who says he shits on it all. Even though the man has his apartment, and has not had heart trouble yet, he still pushes

like crazy. The apartment has three rooms, but only slippers may be worn there, and the child should not breathe loudly in it because it is the life's work. And then the man's child says, "You are so proud of this? Of all this?" And the most annoying part is that our man feels there is a gap somewhere, because it is not working quite as he had dreamed. Some drive around in huge Mercedes, others have serious hunger worries. So much for the dream world. Beatrice was the something that made the bourgeois face themselves through their children, and made their entire existence questionable. This could not be tolerated, this band had to be annihilated.

/Question/ In any case, you played your publicity to the hilt, even in your appearance: safety pins and leather pants, shinbones, vampire teeth, and dotted scarves around your necks, Nagy Fero the "Nation's Cockroach," and that chicken-grinding incident. Did you grind up a chicken?

/Answer/ Let me turn the question around: what if I did? Anyway, I did not. That was Puttony from "HIT." He modestly named himself the King of Rock. And people put labels to us easily. Who is that on stage? Who is the bad boy of the day? Oh, it's probably Nagy Fero, he would do something like that. That is how the story started. Chicken grinding is a great idea, by the way...About the dotted scarf. It was a very innocent thing. I used to wear a purple scarf around my neck, and my girlfriend thought it was very ugly, so she gave me a dotted one. Three weeks later, all the Rice fans were wearing them. There was something wonderful in the fact that you could be walking along the streets of a totally strange city, and meet someone in a dotted scarf, and know right away that you belong together--you would say hello...We ceremoniously consecrated our dotted scarves before every concert. And I became the Nation's Cockroach because I could not become the Nation's Nightingale, after all. By the way, unlike other groups, we never took advantage of the propositions our little female fans made.

/Question/ Your press was terrible. Did you have any friends besides your fans?

/Answer/ Of course. For instance, we got to know the members of the artistic group "Duplicate Copy." I made good personal friends with A. Sandor Bernath(y), Ferenc Temesi the writer and Akos Szilagyi. My friendship with them was important because they were the control that made sure what we were doing was good, that our songs carried a message. We had many studio debates on the fine arts or literature. At the time, Janos Kobanyai was perhaps the only reporter who understood our purpose, and took the time to come among us. He encouraged us. But we never agreed to be the spokesman for anyone else, not even Duplicate Copy. We kept ourselves well clear of the opposition's propaganda too. We made certain that we held the reins, no matter where Beatrice's horse was rushing. Our audience was not normally strong enough for us to use certain lyrics without

great concern. The effect of the ideology they contained was completely unpredictable. KISZ would also gladly have used us for their own purposes, since our influence on youth was greater than theirs. We did not agree to that either. At the end, we managed to stay independent. And it is a different matter that this reason, we went quite legitimately under.

/Question/ You threw a legendary bash at God.

/Answer/ Yes. We publicized an all-day party in Alsogod, on the bank of the Danube. Masses of kids came to see us. They brought their drawings, their poems, their novels. I was stunned to see what good writings were among them. The kids told stories, asked questions. They had things to say, they had dreams, and many among them were talented. Then I asked the KISZ Central Committee to put out a "Dotted" book. I volunteered to edit and publish it. It would have been the first selection from punk literature. Then it never came through. Apparently they did not see any money in it. The kids did lots of glue at the concert--you could not even breathe in the room. "You should drink instead, my friend"--I told them as a last resort. Of course that is not salvation either. But glue, the kids said, is cheaper than booze. So I gave out beer money!

/Question/ You have also been said to oppose the political system.

/Answer/ Of course! And the nation as well! I am curious, the secretary who suggests such a thing--what side is he on? Besides, this was not true either. We were not anti-system, deviants, we did not offend anyone's national sentiments. But when it was discovered that someone lied or was unfit for their post, then Beatrice "relieved" him. We wrote a legal letter to the individual and relieved him, like we did Peter Erdos. We once banned "Pocket Radio," and we relieved a deputy minister too.

/Question/ When and how did you break up?

/Answer/ Beatrice has just as important a place in the history of Hungarian rock as Illes or Syrius. We belong in the society of the seventies, when everything was very well planned. Even in entertainment. The old people had Korda, the teens had Piramis, the "other side" Hofi. And on this organized chessboard there appears a mutant that no one backs, and that is Beatrice. At first they write it off, but it causes more and more unpleasantness. There is no room in the picture for it. There is no getting around it, so it must be bought. It must be promised an album, money. And then comes the big surprise--Beatrice does not want an album, and no one can offer enough money to make it for sale! Now the man of authority is afraid, because Nagy Fero and company are telling him "Hoo!" Is that not funny? It cannot be outlawed by force because that

would only martyrize it, and their methods are smarter than that. Then it must be exhausted, if it cannot be assimilated. So we could never play more than one concert in a gig. We had no records, our performance opportunities were getting more limited, and our well-being did not interest the union. We had some months when we made 600 forints. But we rehearsed constantly, and that is what kept the band's spirit alive. We always had good positions: Gidofalvy and I went janitoring, Mikloska addressed envelopes. Slowly, I had to sell my good equipment. Then at the Tata KISZ-camp our union representative announced that the Board was not on our side. I got very upset because I felt the knife at Beatrice's neck. If we start to bicker here, crying the end of our art, then Beatrice will be the next betrayed. And that is what happened. We arranged a big bash at Hajogyar, and then Beatrice got eliminated from the program at the last minute. Then on 22 August 1981 I announced at the Andras Wahorn exhibition that Beatrice would split up. I was a little disappointed in the audience. I thought they would at least set the stage on fire, but they just pelted Brody a little. Beatrice was at least as honorable a thing as Illes. We did not push for recordings, we were not immoral, we did not want power. We were four upright men who wanted to show the world that it could be done our way. It could not!

/Question/ What about Bikini?

/Answer/ Bikini is not Beatrice. Bikini is a living. Beatrice was the great love, that despite all the trouble I would do over again.

/Question/ But the time has passed.

/Answer/ That is right. Rock no longer really needs me. I am changing my career. In September I will go to the Kecskemet Theater to be a singing actor. Just once, I would like to perform Hamlet's monologue so the people would roll on the ground, laughing...

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CSO: 2500/209

POLAND

PARTY ACTIVITIES IN JANUARY, FEBRUARY REVIEWED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, 13 Feb 85 p 20

[Chronicle of Party activities between 21 January and 3 February 1985]

[Text] Politburo Meetings

The Politburo deliberated at a meeting in Gdansk which was held between 21 and 22 January. The most important political, economic, social and party work tasks in Gdansk Province were discussed.

During the morning hours of 22 January, the Politburo members spent time with the work forces of the largest work establishments of the Trojmiasto [Tri-City] area. The Central Committee first secretary, Wojciech Jaruzelski, paid a visit to the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk.

On 29 January, the Politburo assessed the sociopolitical situation in the country. It familiarized itself with the progress of broad-scale consultations on important issues including, among other things, the issue of draft plans of food price hikes and of limiting its rationing; it adopted the "Schedule of Implementation of Tasks Arising From the Resolutions of the 18th Central Committee Plenum"; it analyzed the problems of the prospects of supplying the country with fuel, power and water; it acquainted itself with the assumptions of the development of the transportation industry until the end of this decade and familiarized itself with information on the results of the visit to Poland of Soviet scientists and engineers, headed by Deputy Premier of the USSR and Chairman of the USSR Science and Technology Committee G. Marchuk.

Meetings and Conferences

On 21 January, an open meeting was held of the party organization and of the ZSL circle which functions at the Committee for Radio and Television. At this meeting, the sociopolitical situation of rural areas, in the light of the implementation of the resolutions of the Joint 11th PZPR Central Committee and ZSL NK [Supreme Committee] Plenum, was discussed. Presidium member and ZSL NK Secretary Kazimierz Olesiak and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek took part in the meeting.

On 23 January, the eve of the anniversary of the liberation of Opole and of the Opole region, the inauguration of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the return of the western and northern territories to the Motherland was held in this city. The members of the highest party and government authorities, including Central Committee First Secretary and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and Council of State Chairman Henryk Jablonski, came for the celebration. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski and Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski were also present.

On that same day, a conference of provincial committee secretaries devoted to the problems of creating a Worker-Peasant Inspectorate was held. The members of the Central Committee Task Force on the State Control System and the directors of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] regional boards participated in the conference. The deliberations were presided over by Politburo candidate member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

On 24 January, the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP], with the participation of the leading provincial commissions, deliberated on the accomplishments of the control commission during the past year and on the proposals for this year's work. The plenum approved the CKKP work plan for the first half of 1985 and the resolution of the 16th CKKP Plenum. The following took part in the deliberations, which were presided over by CKKP Chairman Jerzy Urbanski: Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Central Audit Commission [CKR] Chairman Kazimierz Morawski; and the chairman of the Central Committee Cadre Department, Wladyslaw Honkisz.

On 25 January, the CKR Presidium deliberated. It was devoted to defining the goals, range and subject matter of the controls planned for the first half of 1985. The presidium also defined the tasks of the party control elements for the duration of the current reports campaign in the PZPR. The deliberations were led by CKR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski.

On that same date, the Central Committee Public Health and Environmental Protection Commission analyzed information on the socioliving conditions among the deaf and blind. The deliberations were presided over by Politburo member Zofia Grzyb, with the participation of Janusz Kubasiewicz, director of the Central Committee Administrative Department.

This was also the date on which the 2-day conference of Central Committee economic secretaries ended. It was devoted to the forms of party work in the implementation of the resolution of the 18th Central Committee Plenum. The conference was presided over by the director of the Central Committee Economic Department, Marek Holdakowski. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski met with the conference participants.

On 30 January, the Central Committee Agricultural Commission deliberated on the determining factors of the program of modernization of the food industry. The deliberations were led by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

On that same date, a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Publishing Cooperative was held at which Politburo candidate

member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk presided. The results of the activity of the cooperative in 1984 as well as the determining factors of its operations during the current year were discussed.

The board dismissed Zdzislaw Andruszkiewicz from his functions as chairman and appointed Wieslaw Rydygier to the post of chairman of the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW].

Also on the above date, a meeting of the Central Committee Task Force on Public Economic Education was held, at which the tasks involving the economic education of work forces in places of work were discussed. The deliberations were presided over by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

On 31 January, a meeting of the directors of the provincial audit commission offices was held. The results of inspections during the second half of 1984 and the participation of audit commissions in party reports meetings and conferences were discussed. The session was presided over by CKR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski.

On that same date, a meeting of party provincial committee secretaries was held. It was devoted to the current problems of ideological-propaganda work. Tasks arising from the political calendar of preparations for the plenary session of the Central Committee on the subject of the intelligentsia, problems of party work in the area of national education, and the tasks of the mass media were discussed. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski presided over the deliberations.

On 1 February, the Central Committee Ideological Commission deliberated on the issue of the 19th Central Committee Plenum, which is being prepared and which will be devoted to the role and place of the intelligentsia in the socialist development of Poland. The meeting was presided over by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

On the same day, the Central Committee Women's Commission discussed the sociopolitical standing of women in socialist Poland within the context of the long-range program of the party. Politburo member Zofia Grzyb presided over the deliberations.

In Echelons and Organizations

On 21 January, a meeting was held in Legnica of the secretaries of all PZPR elements and echelons from the province. The meeting inaugurated the reports campaign. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski participated in the deliberations.

On that same date, a reports campaign was inaugurated in Siedlce in the provincial party organization with a meeting of the secretaries of basic party organizations from workers and rural communities. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski took part in the deliberations.

Also on the above date, the Provincial Committee in Piotrkow Trybunalski assessed the implementation of socioeconomic tasks during the past year and laid out the directions of the provincial party organization's work for the implementation of this year's tasks.

On 22 January, the Provincial Committee in Biala Podlaska assessed the implementation of the socioeconomic tasks in 1984 and specified the tasks of the provincial party organization in this area for the current year.

On 23 January, the Provincial Committee in Elblag examined the tasks of the party organization of the region in the implementation of the socioeconomic plan for the current year.

On the same date, the Provincial Committee in Kielce assessed the implementation to date of the resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum and of the Provincial Committee resolution from 1982, both of which concern party work with youth.

Also on the above date, Politburo member Albin Siwak met with the representatives of the work forces and communities of Ornet in Elblag Province.

On 24 January, the Warsaw Committee discussed the most important tasks in the starting reports campaign. Politburo member Albin Siwak took part in the deliberations which were conducted by Politburo member and Provincial Committee First Secretary Marian Wozniak.

On the same day, the Provincial Committee in Ostroleka discussed the main tasks of the socioeconomic development of the province in 1985.

The Provincial Committee in Pila defined the tasks of party echelons and organizations within the context of goals contained in the Central Annual Plan for 1985.

The Provincial Committee in Wroclaw discussed the principal tasks of the provincial economy for the current year; it rectified the Provincial Committee's plan of action for the first half of the year and approved the reports campaign plan of the provincial party organization.

Also on that same date, the PZPR Provincial Committee and the ZSL Provincial Committee in Zielona Gora analyzed at a joint session the effectiveness of management as a major factor of agricultural production growth. Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and Supreme Committee Secretary Kazimierz Olesiak participated in the deliberations.

On 25 January, a National Scientific Seminar was held at the Lenin Steelworks devoted to the new edition of the "Collected Works" of V. I. Lenin. Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Central Committee Ideological Department, took part in the seminar.

On that same day, the Provincial Committee in Chelm specified the tasks of party echelons in the area of the development and improvement of the

distribution of party power in the province. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski participated in the deliberations.

The PZPR Provincial Committee and the ZSL Provincial Committee in Gorzow Wielkopolski assessed, at a joint session, the implementation of tasks in agriculture arising from the resolutions of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the ZSL Supreme Committee. Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and Supreme Committee Secretary Kazimierz Olesiak took part in the deliberations.

The Krakow Committee discussed tasks in the area of solving socioeconomic problems in 1985.

On 26 January, the Provincial Committee in Opole specified the tasks in the area of cadre policies for party elements and echelons in the Opole region. Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the Central Committee Cadre Department, took part in the deliberations.

The Provincial Committee in Wloclawek assessed the state of the ideological work of the provincial party organization following the 13th Central Committee Plenum. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in the deliberations.

Politburo member Albin Siwak participated in a reports meeting of the Provincial Federation of Independent Self-Governing Construction Workers Trade Unions in Leszno.

On 28 January, the following Politburo members took part in the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] provincial reports-election conferences: Jerzy Romanik in Katowice and Stanislaw Opalko in Tarnow.

On that same date, Politburo member Albin Siwak participated in an open party meeting of the State Geodetic and Cartographic Enterprise in Warsaw.

On 30 January, the Provincial Committee in Jelenia Gora discussed the tasks in the area of the development of industry and construction during the current year. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski took part in the deliberations.

On that same date, the Provincial Committee in Koszalin discussed the tasks of party organizations and echelons in the implementation of the resolution of the 18th Central Committee Plenum.

A meeting was held of the Presidium of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Warsaw Council with the representatives of the capital city's PZPR, ZSL and SD echelons. At this meeting, the accomplishments to date and the plans of the PRON Warsaw Council were discussed. Politburo member and Provincial Committee First Secretary Marian Wozniak participated in the meeting.

On 31 January, the Provincial Committee in Nowy Sacz specified the directions of activity conducive to the improvement of the functioning of the health service. Janusz Kubasiewicz, head of the Central Committee Administrative Department, took part in the deliberations.

The Provincial Committee in Tarnow discussed party tasks in the implementation of the Central Annual Plan for 1985. Politburo member and Provincial Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Opalko presided over the deliberations.

The Provincial Committee in Walbrzych assessed the effectiveness of the activity of party elements in the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum in the part concerning grievances, recommendations and signals from the public. Politburo member Albin Siwak participated in the deliberations.

On 1 February, the Provincial Committee in Krosno discussed the tasks of party echelons and organizations in the implementation of the assumptions of this year's socioeconomic plan for the province. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski participated in the deliberations.

The Provincial Committee in Szczecin deliberated on the tasks of the provincial party organization in the implementation of cadre policies. Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the Central Committee Cadre Department, was present.

On this same date, the following Politburo members and members of the Central Committee Secretariat arrived in Katowice for celebrations associated with the 40th anniversary of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: Zbigniew Messner, Tadeusz Porebski, Jerzy Romanik, and Jan Glowczyk.

Also on this date, Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski participated in an ideological conference in Lodz which was organized by the PZPR Inner-City District Committee.

The aims and problems associated with the 19th Central Committee Plenum, which is being prepared, were discussed by Witold Nawrocki, head of the Central Committee Cultural Department, at a meeting with the representatives of the intelligentsia communities in Kielce Province.

The implementation of the assumptions of cadre policies were discussed at a meeting of the party-economic aktiv of the Transocean Fishing Industry Enterprise in Szczecin. Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the Central Committee Cadre Department, was present.

Interparty Cooperation

On 23 January, Heinz Adameck, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Committee for Television Matters, who paid a working visit to Poland, was met by Politburo candidate member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

On 24 January, Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski greeted the following visitors: Klaus Sorgenicht, director of the

SED Central Committee Department for State and Legal Matters, and Herbert Kelle, head of the GDR People's Chamber Secretariat.

On 26 January ended a 5-day visit by a delegation of the CPSU Central Committee Department of Propaganda, headed by CPSU Central Committee member and director of the Department of Propaganda D. I. Stukalin. The delegation met with the following Politburo members and members of the Central Committee Secretariat: Jozef Czyrek, Marian Wozniak, Jan Glowczyk, Stanislaw Bejger, and Henryk Bednarski.

On 29 January, Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Central Committee Socioprofessional Department, met with the visiting delegation of union members (FDGB) from the GDR, headed by the vice chairman of the union headquarters, Prof Johanna Taepfer.

On 30 January, a meeting was held in the Central Committee between the director of the Central Committee Cultural Department, Witold Nawrocki, and a delegation of Soviet writers, headed by Yuriy Suroviev, secretary of the Board of the USSR Writers Union.

9853

CSO: 2600/641

POLAND

TRADE UNION OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON NEGOTIATION TACTICS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 23 Feb 85 p 7

[Interview with Leszek Brojanowski, deputy chairman of the Nationwide Trade Union Agreement, by Anna Matalowska: "Like a Wedge"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] When you met with the administration it appeared as if you were prepared to proceed with dialogue.

[Answer] There was no deliberation with the authorities at that time. We needed some additional clarification. How can it be possible to be prepared for any assignment or discussion if the project is sprung on you without notice?

[Question] Is it possible that the unions were caught off guard by the proposal for price increases?

[Answer] We were expecting it but we didn't know which products would be involved, what the rate of increase would be and who would be affected. This is not a problem that can be resolved in just a short time. Experts and advisers will meet and put their heads together to decide what can be done about this and what position should be taken.

[Question] Do the unions have access to all of the particulars?

[Answer] No we don't. We have only the information which is generally available. That is why we are hurriedly setting up a bureau for research and analysis. Opinions vary on solutions to any given problem. There are many angles of approach. There is the point of view resulting from one or another set of facts carrying, in the estimation of the state, some kind of numerical rating. Then there are the opinions of average citizens, ones who may be in totally different sets of circumstances and affected in divergent ways.

[Question] I heard a member of one of your commissions say that it is unlikely that a kilo of flour will cost 1000 zlotys, but what effect would a price increase of this sort have on the quality of life? What we are interested in learning about is the standard of living.

[Answer] We cannot arrive at a consensus of opinion since nothing has been said about the fact that we have a belt-tightening policy.

[Question] Isn't that quite evident?

[Answer] Our policy is one of keeping the belt buckle at the same hole. We don't loosen or tighten it. If we are supposed to keep the belt on the same hole, then let's keep it there. If we are to make the belt smaller, then let us say so officially. When considering wage increases, the central annual plan [CPR] policy of maintaining a balance between the market and the higher cost of living is one of keeping the belt at the same size. It seems to us, however, that for the majority of society this means a tightening of the belt.

[Question] Did the unions have access to the CPR's data?

[Answer] To answer conclusively, we would have to inquire at sources which in many instances are unofficial.

[Question] How do you intend to approach these sources? Have you reached the end of the rope?

[Answer] There are certain organizational barriers. We are an agency which is operating in accordance with a resolution of the Council of State. We are still waiting for our registration and statute. We will not be able to perform all of the functions of representation until 20 February 1985.

[Question] At the entrance to your office there is a notice stating "Depository for opinions regarding pricing is in room number 20." Is this your method of getting an insight into the matter?

[Answer] We set up an information center at which a member of our union organization is always present. He gathers opinions from all of those who wish to say something on the subject of pricing. A cross section of people take advantage of this opportunity. People come in from the street and some of them want anonymity, while others do not insist on it. Those voicing their opinions range from the well-to-do to the poor. We have to take this information into consideration when arriving at a stand as a union, which ultimately has to be that of the "man on the street."

[Question] Is this the only point at which you conduct your research?

[Answer] We have several voluntary experts who have offered their services.

[Question] Who are they?

[Answer] Experts in the field of food management, farming, economists, people who are engaged in checking all sections of the country to determine how much it costs to keep the larder supplied.

[Question] Is this a large group?

[Answer] No, it is a small group. How large it is does not matter. It consists of scientists and professors heading a variety of institutions. In addition, many other organizations belong to the Nationwide Trade Union Agreement [OPZZ], for example, some very influential college federations and the Polish Teachers Union. They also assemble economic and managerial brain trusts, which means that our union members constitute a readily available source of supply.

[Question] Were they selected as an advisory unit?

[Answer] Our group of advisers has a certain freedom in expressing their opinions, while on the other hand it does not have any voice in decisionmaking. It cannot influence judgments made by the OPZZ or the executive committee.

[Question] It must have some influence, for otherwise there is no reason for its existence.

[Answer] Only in the submitting of arguments. Arguments, however, are not the main factor in arriving at decisions. Added to this are the political repercussions of taking one particular stand and not another. The advisors are no longer involved in this area. Many of our crises were spawned in a manner in which discretionary powers were practically bestowed upon the advisors and nobody made attempts to foresee the eminent results upon society.

[Question] How about the last few years, don't they provide a wealth of awareness? Let us take as an example the question of social security and retirement pensions. One of our advisers presented us with a detailed report of how the government wants to remedy these problems. Can you believe that he endorsed it as the only logical solution available? Is there a surplus in the ZUS [Social Security Agency] fund? There is, but in reality there is not, since this surplus has been absorbed by the national budget in the form of an anticipated budget increase for the fund. Why do we concern ourselves with these machinations? Should this be the attitude of a retiree or a pensioner whose money this is? It is he who toiled for the 43 percent that went to the ZUS retirement fund which he expected would be his subsistence after retiring from work. So what happened? He now finds himself below the poverty level. The monies have to remain on deposit with ZUS. I am aware of the fact that up to now there has been no method of control, but now there is. Now there is no way that these funds can be loaned out.

[Question] What have you gentlemen accomplished with all this information?

[Answer] Nothing. This was one of the government's approaches: they brought in a roller, it did the leveling and now we have a river half a meter deep, but the statistician in charge of the project drowned. We still want to know where the shallows are and what the depth of the river is, observing it from the standpoint of a person who could drown.

[Question] Not too much time is available for such contemplation.

[Answer] The question of time also presents a technical problem: the lack of employment for the people. We cannot occupy some of the people we have in our employ because we have no place to put them. I will not set them down in the corridor. We came here, to put it bluntly, like a wedge, taking over many of the locations and until we can bridge the organizational gap we will go around limping. Let us take advantage of the brain trust, but we should keep them on a provisional basis.

[Question] It is not necessary to have this arrangement turn into a permanent set-up, inasmuch as this could prove to be an impediment.

[Answer] We find it necessary to have some of these people for the time being to work up our analyses. They require a quiet place to do contemplative work.

[Question] Undoubtedly you could find a table.

[Answer] At the present time not even a table can be found. We have institutions here with a long-standing record of relation with the unions. No power would be capable of displacing them. We have to try to fit into a tight space, they do not. We do not have the room to extend our wings in a union building.

[Question] I would not relate this building readily with the spreading of wings. People could draw a rather negative connotation from it.

[Answer] Would you say that these walls compromised themselves? Did the rooms compromise themselves? People, systems and methods in which business was conducted can compromise themselves. How was the building acquired? From donations of the people.

[Question] Isn't it possible that somebody would not want his money spent on carpeting that you have on this floor?

[Answer] If it has already been here, then let it lie.

[Question] So that you won't give substance to claims that you organized yourselves mainly for the purpose of shuffling desks and chairs around.

[Answer] We are in the process of surmounting this opinion and claims of this sort do not impede the establishment of our research and development center. With a temporarily limited work force, we will conduct investigative and analytical work for the benefit of the union from the standpoint of the man on the street.

[Question] From whom and from what facts do the unions expect to get a true picture of the gravity of the situation?

[Answer] This I will say with the fear of God in me: the unions by their nature are obliged to consider matters from the viewpoint of the worker.

After we have more securely entrenched ourselves organizationally with all the rest, including the federations, although the downfall of our movement is its vastly fragmentized structure, we will then submit our reports covering conditions in individual industries where the federations are active, meaning everywhere.

[Question] What type of a report will we have regarding the economy?

[Answer] I have a feeling that it will not be the kind of report that comes from the industrial plants, travels from the association to the ministry and, after being endowed with statistical clarity, finds its way to the Government Presidium. It will be a report based on facts and not statistics. We should be able to manage its issuance this year. We will then have to analyze mutual responsibilities of the individual segments of our economy to determine whose work, which professional groups and which industries have to be pulled out of the crisis by the government. We want to be a reliable partner and operate within the law, which does not mean that we cannot try to change that law. We will then be promising "to tell the truth" even if subjectively "without consideration." It is possible that with this truthful attitude we may prove to be a discomfort to some.

[Question] Do the government experts have the advantage of knowledge or academic titles?

[Answer] They may have an advantage in the preliminary stage. Titles are fine when appearing next to a signature on an expert's report, but this does not necessarily mean that every scholar is a politician capable of predicting results of the remedy proposed. If we talked with economists with the opposite point of view of that of Baka, we would not have any economic reforms at all. We have the advantage of looking at the situation through the eyes of the man on the street.

[Question] But how can we reconcile that?

[Answer] That is the key question. Trade unions have to be the elements of an early warning system, a safety valve for the public, one which has to say at the proper moment: "What's going on, gentlemen?" We are not the ones who are obligated to coordinate the interests of social or professional trade groups. These are the functions of specialized administrative, economic and other national units.

[Question] Do you gentlemen feel competent and adequately prepared to take on this responsibility?

[Answer] Gallup has an influence on the opinions of governments when there are 1000 people interviewed. Representations are based on other things: on the understanding of what the people want, what their goals happen to be, what path would they like to travel to reach these goals. Each group which is affiliated with any organization represents a certain force, organizational and political.

[Question] Are you in a position from which you could anticipate the moment when warnings should be given?

[Answer] Our fact-finding apparatuses are our unions affiliated with the OPZZ. We receive our early warning signals if only at the point where we register opinions. For this reason and no other we can have our own viewpoint, without the aid of the experts. An expert can twist a viewpoint to say why and for what reason it is so and not any other way. In a situation where an increase in the price of any product by even 1 zloty will create a furor in our country, are we supposed to probe the tranquility of the people, who at this point do not want consultation and who are totally resigned to their fate? Why are they resigned? It is not by mere chance, as in an anecdote about Napoleon, when Foch told him: "In Naples they are laughing and having a good time." "That is good" said the emperor, but when he heard that they were not laughing or having a good time and not telling jokes, he said, "That is not good."

12306

CSO: 2600/672

POLAND

POLITICAL EXPLOITATION OF MURDERED PRIEST CONDEMNED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Feb 85 p 5

[Article by Stanislaw Stanuch: "I Would Like For You To Be Wrong"]

[Text] GAZETA KRAKOWSKA No 26, on 31 January, under the title of "I Would Like For You To Be Wrong," published the second half of Stanislaw Stanuch's response to the letters sent to him, as the author of the well-known article "There Is No Room for You," a story about the Christmas Nativity scene organized at the church in Mistrzejowice, Nowa Huta. Below we present the contents of this article, slightly abridged.

It would be surprising if the article "There Is No Room for You," which caused so many discussions and reactions throughout Poland, had only encountered disapproval. In the first part of the present deliberations, we read critical opinions, and now it is time for those who with greater or lesser difficulty agree with my position. Many of them are practicing believers, who are still frequently exposed to their own personal dramas as a result of their convictions.

In most cases, the authors of the letters, before going on to the fundamental conclusion, devote several sentences to taking a position on the subject of what I wrote. Sometimes this is a laconic signature under the line, "to the Editor, with thanks for a splendid article," or as in the case of the young teacher M. B., "I want to express my appreciation for the author of this publication for his frankness and breadth in presenting his personal judgment on the subject of one of the most important fragments of our Polish reality." A reader from Krakow begins her letter as follows: "I read your article (...) and here are the reflections that occurred to me--praise for you: critical but sensitively written, and that is pleasant, since no one has written like that for a very long time. Usually people hammer away and before that only write half the truth. I was not there, and thus it is difficult for me to write about this display or Nativity scene. Nevertheless, based on your description, I would probably have been surprised myself at a Christmas Nativity scene presented in such a manner."

Most of the letters, however, are evidence of the intense--commanding respect--internal dramas between loyalty to the faith and irritation or reservations about the misuse of places of religious worship for purposes opposed to the intentions of the believers. These letters are very disturbing and must therefore be quoted in full, or with minor abridgements: "I thought for a long time about whether I should write a letter to you, since I wanted to speak up on the subject of your article 'There Is No Room for You.' I could not decide because as a practicing believer at this same church in Mistrzejowice, I would unfortunately have to acknowledge that you were right, and thus speak out against the priest of the church in which I pray. A circumstance that repelled me very much occurred, however, since during one of the meetings in a small group, Father K. J. appealed for us to write letters to your editor, in order, as he put it, 'to get that Red... where it hurts.' This was said by a man who states that he is fighting for the truth. That is what made me decide that I could write to you with a clear conscience, and I can only express my congratulations on your objectivity and courage.

"P.S. Forgive me for not signing my letter, but I am afraid that if my name happened to be made public by some chance, I would have something to watch out for in Mistrzejowice..."

One needs a great deal of fanaticism to alienate someone as attached to the faith as the author of the quoted letter, and one needs a great deal of conceit to think that one is the only person who represents and knows the truth; and one needs an unpriestly lack of sense to surround oneself with a clamorous group of flatterers and haters, while remaining deaf to the voices of the other parishioners. The position of the author of the letter from Mistrzejowice is by no means isolated. Here is another opinion from J.P., of the same parish:

"Many words of appreciation for the article that you wrote (...). You did not make any mistakes in your assessments. I am a practicing believer; that parish is the one that I attend, but I will probably have to change it. There is virtually nothing there but politics. Constant attacks on the government, the system, etc. And the leader in this is Father K. J.--the curate, obviously with the support of the parish priest, Father M.K.

"That is why I am writing about this. Besides, not just I, but also many of my acquaintances who are also practicing believers, think that it is worthwhile to inquire more closely into what is also being said during religious services in the parish of Maksymilian Kolbe. This happens mainly every Thursday, at 1900, in the lower chapel. These so-called Thursday services are with the intention of the 'Fatherland.' If only you could listen to what is said at these services, and see who is invited. One simply has to hear it with one's own ears.

"I have to acknowledge that Father J. was 'capable' of the task, and assumed an attitude concerning your article--he placed a response in the display case.

What he wrote is obviously nonsense, and it demonstrates this. I took the trouble to copy this response. I typed it out at work, and I am sending it to you.

"I am not the only one who thinks that after reading this response and perhaps also attending one of the Thursday meetings, you will be able to write an article showing the true face of the priest in Mistrzejowice. I wish you success, and I think that my letter will not go unnoticed."

Dear sir, your letter, and particularly these three pages typed by your own hands, are the most precious present that a journalist can receive. After all, I am not publishing these opinions from the parishioners for my own satisfaction, but in the hope that the citizens of Mistrzejowice, the priest, and others like him will find the time to think about whether it is proper for Polish priests to lie and humiliate their own Fatherland, and to surround themselves with people who not too long ago "insulted" those attending church, just as loudly and just as much for material gain. Perhaps one of the Mistrzejowice "Thursdays" could be devoted to "meditations" on what People's Poland would look like today if millions of honest and modest Catholics did not strengthen it through their labor. Perhaps one of the "creators" invited could tell on what carpets in what offices he wiped his shoes in the 1950's. Perhaps during these meetings someone could say whose inspiration, activities, and ideas were responsible for the construction of those thousands of units, in Mistrzejowice as well, which provide their residents with social advancement (most of them are from the country), work, and nevertheless on the whole a prosperous life. I cannot take part in these Thursday meetings in Mistrzejowice, because not everyone is viewed kindly there, proof of which is the fact that they are guarded by a sizable group of "gorillas," diligently although discreetly selecting the participants. That isn't bad for the openness of places of worship and religion in Poland.

A feeling of impunity and an awareness of financial superiority over "the rest" leads part of the church hierarchy and some priests in the same direction as the political regime in the 1970's--toward arrogance. This is discussed by a letter from Krakow: "Bravo for 'There Is No Room for You,' for dealing with a sacred cow which, certain of its immunity, becomes more and more arrogant. (...) On one holiday, I went to a small church in Cikowice near Bochnia, in order to experience in communion the miraculous mystery that is the holy mass. I experienced a severe disappointment, because the young priest, who apparently began to work there last summer, began the sermon in the style of this pseudo-joke: 'Killing a militiaman is not a sin, but a good deed, the confessor said!' This priest delivered a sermon, or as is said today a 'homily,' but it was actually a political lecture. One could have heard in it a brief reference to St Szczepan the Martyr, which served as a pretext for a long argument about the contemporary sufferings of the church and of Catholics in Poland in general. He began with 'Bierut, who sold a third of Poland.' Later came 'Comrade Wieslaw, who promised that the paths to the churches would be overgrown with grass, but look, the grass is growing over him.' This young priest continued by arguing that the persecuted are the builders of new places of worship, in connection with which

the murder of Father J. Popieluszko is only a minor example of what is done in Poland to those who speak the 'truth.'

"Right after the holidays, this priest went out 'caroling.' At every house, he asked about the 'Gypsy,' or the television, and expressed surprise that anyone would watch it and listen to it, since 'it always tells the same lies.' He also presented his 'philosophy' to some people: 'If there were more people persecuted, these people would unite around the church even more, and perhaps we would be able to win something!'

"To tell the truth, in this entire 'sermon' and in this 'caroling' one could hardly hear even one 'word of God,' even a shadow of the evangelical 'Christian spirit.' There was nothing but primitive anticommunism, contrary to the attitude of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński or John Paul II, who saw a place for Christians in every system, while at the same time warning the clergy not to engage in politics. But this priest is a long way from these luminaries--this is simply a young rural peasant (a long time ago such people used to be called ploughboys), who gets his political lessons from foreign radio stations, and disseminates them wherever he can. He probably got his fanaticism from the seminary, however, where apparently the medieval gloom has not yet been dispelled. I am including expressions of respect and I am giving my personal data, but only for your knowledge, Mr Editor!"

Can one add any comments to this letter, which is actually a passionate column in defense of the faith? One can only add that it is a paradox that the only place in our country where believers wanting to maintain their loyalty to their Fatherland can defend their reasons is the party newspaper. But perhaps this is not a paradox, just the ordinary truth that People's Poland, following a policy of tolerance, is the real fatherland of all Poles.

The inability of the episcopate to restrain the political impetuosity of young priests gives rise among a considerable portion of the believers to states bordering on helpless despair. One result of this is a letter from Z. K.: "The abduction and murder of Father J. Popieluszko has done enormous and immeasurable harm to our country. In addition to the loss of the man, this crime gave the Western news media food for statements against our system and the state authorities. This action has been conducted untiringly for two and a half months, and it will certainly last as a subject for many weeks yet. Some of the Roman Catholic clergy in Poland have joined actively in the campaign to sow hatred for the authorities. Stubbornly and at every step, they are trying to revile our authorities, the law enforcement agencies, and the party, and they are doing this by benefiting from the tolerance of the Polish authorities, on one hand, and the way in which the 'subject has been seized' by the Western Polish-language radio stations, on the other. The climate and the situation promote such activities for the time being.

"Many believers were shocked by the article by editor Stanuch in GAZETA KRAKOWSKA entitled 'There Is No Room for You,' about how a display devoted to Father Popieluszko and a Christmas Nativity scene sponsored by the nonexistent Solidarity were arranged in the M. Kolbe Church in Mistrzejowice.

The fanatics in their hatred have not yet realized that the highest body, the Polish Sejm, banned Solidarity for its anarchistic and extremist acts, which nearly brought our country to complete catastrophe. Our society has already had enough of these extravagances of extremism, and it wants to live in peace undisturbed by psychopaths.

"It therefore seems to me that in addition to the existing criminal code, our code of misdemeanors should be provided with a section authorizing the administrative authorities to prevent the misuse of pulpits in places of worship for activities against the PRL.

"As a believer, I consequently propose the adoption of the following punishments for the clergy:

"a) A reprimand, a prohibition against delivering sermons--the first time for a period of 3 months, and the second time for a period of up to 1 year--for priests acting against the PRL.

"b) In the event that impermissible displays or publications are arranged on church premises, or that laymen are permitted to deliver political speeches in a place of worship that are aimed against the PRC or its authorities, the place of worship in question should be closed for a period of 3 months, and if the offense is repeated, for the period of a year.

"The church cannot be a refuge for anarchy, extremism, and political opponents. If the Polish episcopate does not want to eliminate these things, let the state administration deal with this, without waiting for a decision from a prosecutor or a court, and there certainly will not be any more murders of priests as a result of frustration. Such penalties would also deter the 'political' priests from using churches for a political game against the state, its system, and the people's rule."

I confess that my correspondents had so much to say that I consider it necessary to devise a conclusion. Obviously, I was certainly not able to exhaust all the problems contained in this abundant correspondence, which was rich in ideas.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to all the authors of the letters, both those approving my opinion and those violently opposing it. In both cases, as a journalist and as a writer, I made use of a great deal, since it is not often that one has such an opportunity to dwell on the way of thinking, the reasons for decisions, or the imperatives for action of contemporary Poles. And that was the nature of the correspondence associated with the article "There Is No Room for You."

9909

CSO: 2600/634

POLAND

CATHOLIC ARTICLE ON 'GENERATIONAL CHANGE' ATTACKED

Political Pluralism Criticized

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 6, 6 Feb 85 pp 1,5

[Article by Zbyslaw Rykowski and Wieslaw Wladyka: "Political Thinking"]

[Text] You must think politically. With this message, Andrzej Micewski addresses the younger generation of the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY [TP] political party. In an article entitled "The Generational Shift" (TP No 2), he delights in the ideological commitment of the majority of the new generation but worries about their irrationalism. The young people "are so beside themselves with anger that they seem to believe that 'wishing makes it so,' without considering the objective circumstances of time and place."

One is hard put to disagree with Micewski's diagnosis or to ignore his call, even when one belongs, as we do, to a different political camp. Those taking part in political life should not be indifferent to the quality of political thought not only in their own camp but also in other camps. Ensuring certain standards of thinking is one of the essential conditions that makes the political struggle creative, that lifts society up and does not plunge it into fruitless quarrels about who is upright, good and honest and who is not.

The problem of the younger generation is somewhat different from Micewski's portrayal of it, however. He complains that young people are incapable of thinking. The capability is there, and if they wanted to think, they would. The problem is that they do not want to think. Micewski uses examples taken from the youth of his generation to encourage political thinking. He says that much can be accomplished through political thinking. We do not think that such arguments are acceptable to the young people addressed by this TP journalist. They seem to believe that what is attainable through Micewski's politics already has been achieved and that nothing else is expected. Thus, there is nothing to think about. They believe that the potential of a real politics is exhausted. If they choose to think politically, it is the sort of political thinking that is dissociated from responsibility for results, but rather calls to mind pure speculation and not what is to be achieved, or how it is to be achieved. Flights of fancy come easy to us. Thinking soars,

unencumbered by the strictures of calculating strengths and considering the social reality, interests and potential. Discoursing on politics is a parlor game rather than a political activity. Thinking is done to produce an effect rather than to be productive. It is not verified in social practice.

Such thinking must be noble and pure. This means that it must be a demonstration of values, showing a clear contrast between good and evil. Such thinking is verified on the field of asociological beliefs and not on the field of practical actions. Our true freedom, your false freedom, our truth, your falsity.... Such thinking did not spring from anything else, nor did it burst forth spontaneously. It is the product of a tradition that equates ideology with politics. However, although politics is rooted in ideology, it is a separate value and practice. Its identification with the sort of politics that is divorced from a values system and centers around personal or group interests, with a personal game or with cynicism is equally false. It would be wrong to make this sort of equation, as though there were no place for politics. Forms of practicing politics directly would not develop, because politics would be considered something shameful. In our political culture, we are not accustomed to defining interests clearly or to speaking publicly of them, acknowledging that there is an underlying interest. It may be prompted only by an idea and values. True, politics must be an outgrowth of a values system; lofty convictions and ideas lend strength to politics. But whereas elsewhere the interests of large or important social groups are linked with ideas, here ideas lead their own lives apart from the interests structure. They are expressed not through politics but in the nurturing of symbols, in the cultivating of myths. Young people readily accept the way of viewing politics that assumes the exclusive right to exercise control over all-national values. They give in to the struggle whose purpose is the ownership of all-national goals. Either we will have everything or we will not have anything... The nation must have goals, including lofty ones. However, to designate goals for it that are beyond its potential dooms it to frustration, hopelessness and apathy.

The maximalists seem to say that politics is not necessary at this time... We will think about politics only when we rise up to the topmost level of the so desirable and beloved values. Then we will somehow arrange everything for ourselves. Thus, it is of no consequence now. Thus, thinking about politics is put off ad calendas graecas. The ideal state never will be attained, for new problems and complications, new conflicts and new goals will arise. What is believed to be the most important thing today may not be at all important tomorrow. Threats to the nation may arise that we cannot anticipate today. The path of politics is a different one: to define real goals in harmony with values and to steer collective actions aimed toward these goals. The path of politics is starting from the beginning and not from the end; it is the reconstruction of the existing society and not the building of a nonexistent one. And in the existing society, various interests and world views appear. Thus, the existing society should be the natural environment of the various modes of political thinking. Every social group has much to gain and much to lose. Thus, there is something to quarrel over, a reason to practice politics. Micewski says correctly: "No nation can survive without intelligent politics." Let us add: intelligent politics practiced in various ways.

While Micewski addresses the young, his words are equally applicable to the old (perhaps even more applicable to them). They are no less susceptible to political utopias than the young. This is clear as one reads the recent issues of TP. If youth can be used to excuse the young, their elders have no excuse. They willingly refer to their own disillusionment. But disillusionment is no political argument. They should have dreamed and believed less and thought more. Then they would not be disillusioned. It is not the young that utilize extrapolitical authority to seat themselves in political roles; they do not politicize those spheres of social life that ought to be free from politics. It is not from them that the creation of models for political behavior should be demanded.

It is a duty of the old to present the young with a political approach, if only so that it can be negated. Even Micewski will not draw the young people away from their party if he does not present such an approach. Micewski's call to think contains more methodological advice than program content. When the postwar generation entered politics, the basis of political thinking had to be an understanding of Poland's new place in Europe. An accomplishment of Micewski's camp was to draw political conclusions, while maintaining identity in world view. Recalling the path traveled by his group, Micewski wishes to persuade that something can be achieved if one deals with realities. That he is right cannot be denied. However, the facts that once broke down the consciousness are not enough today. It is the source of great pride that someone still must be convinced of them. Everyone that wishes to practice politics in Poland must make the understanding of its underlying circumstances the foundation of thought. If they did this, it would be evident how much room there is in Poland to implement the political aspirations of the various groups. The time and place for practicing politics is always, under all circumstances. Intelligent politics does not wait for conditions to arise, but creates them. Waiting for a traditional political structure to be reborn suddenly is fruitless.

Micewski musters up a heroic outcry: this state is ours, "concern for the situation of the state is our common concern, apart from all differences, gulfs and ideological differences." Of course this state is ours, but what next, what follows from this? Today's political thinking cannot be confined to a model of an archaic, armchair-diplomacy type of politics. It must present a social program, it must be linked with the interests of social groups and it must tie in national interests with the interests of these groups, supplementing Polishness with social content. Essentially Micewski is thinking about training the political elite of his own camp, about increasing the effectiveness of their thinking. However, the problem is not one of training the elite but one of how they develop, their social base and the conditions in which they grow up. A political camp that exists based on the principle of negation, that combines various ideological systems, that joins fire and water, cannot have any other elite than it has. Fogginess, sketchiness and lavishness in a social program are engendered by thinking that is sensational, wishful and mythological. If Micewski's camp does not set up a clear program and it does not make certain basic social choices, it will not be liberated from irrational thinking.

Micewski states correctly that "as we fight among ourselves so passionately over the highest values, our nation and state lags behind in civilizational development, which over the long term cannot but have political and international consequences." It is pious talk, but something must be learned from it. How is the nation to be brought up to the level of its aspirations and potential? Is it enough to cherish values, or should they also be used with their unifying force to get the Poles moving? What effect does it have on our being if we preserve them and cherish them in a national reserve, surrounding ourselves with them as museum symbols? The virtues and culture of our forefathers and our national pride should not only be preserved but also should be carried into the future, into modern times. This cannot be achieved by any conservative politics that limits itself to negation, that restricts itself to conserving values that are indispensable to national life. Every responsible and intelligent sort of Polish politics must take into consideration present and future dangers, positing a set of goals that suits the 21st century and not the 19th century. Thus, every sort of creative politics in Poland must assume some forms of cooperation with the element of authority, if only as the primary disposer of national values, the organizer of economic processes and the representative of the state in the international forum. Civilizational and technological progress cannot be made outside the governmental structure. Let it be cooperation replete with criticism but let it exist. Micewski declares his readiness for such cooperation "within the framework of a pluralistic society and not one of conformity," demanding from politically decisive elements a convincing answer to the question regarding "the conditions and possibilities for all Poland's children to work for it." The answer to this question may be sought only in political thinking that is realistically linked to reality.

Historical Naivete

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 4, 26 Jan 85 p 15

[Article by Ryszard Marek Gronski: "Cheap Heroism"]

[Text] A certain scholar joked that a phlegmatic could not make a career in Poland. Maybe not, but he would live peacefully and in dignity.

Hotheads and temperamental people have it much worse than phlegmatics in Poland. The pen can turn anyone into such a person, especially when it is a pen that has been political for years. So as to be fair, let us say that this applies equally to Marxists as to the advocates of a less scientific world view.

There is no point in looking far for examples, since they are close at hand: in the monthly ZDANIE (No 12) and in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (No 2). Let us begin with the experience of Prof Stefan Zolkiewski, a longstanding Marxist. This is a figure whose place in the history of the Polish humanities is unquestioned. He is the author of many books, a journalist, lecturer, the chief editor of POLITYKA, an organizer, an activist--the list is long, but still not exhaustive. Stefan Zolkiewski has proved many times that he is a scholar that does not fear coming out of the closet when there is a whirlwind and rainy weather outside. In March 1968, unconcerned about his position and

functions, the professor came out in defense of the students. He also behaved in an unconventional manner in December 1981 during the deliberations of the Congress of Culture. Instead of echoing the laments, he defended our cultural achievements. He reminded those uttering the Cassandra cries of such trifles as the elimination of illiteracy, the universal ability to read, the inexpensive nature of theater and movie theater tickets.... The uttering of such heresies then, in that room, was tantamount to signing in to a live torpedo. "I simply presented my views without seeking applause," the professor told three ZDANIE reporters.

Among Stefan Zolkiewski's achievements, the creation of the Literary Research Institute [IBL] occupies an important position. He that initiated the move to create this scholarly institute says, not without melancholy, that today "... at the Staszic Palace there are those that do not greet me, believing me to be a 'regimist'..." They must be curious people, unblemished, spotless beings. Not to greet an old professor that does not head the IBL is an act of heroism. Incidentally, I wonder whether these heroes bent over their index cards allow themselves to treat those that may react to their little demonstrations less tolerantly and understandingly in the same way. But that is how it works out, that the subjects the heroes choose to make a show of their courage are the safest of the safe. I am dying to know who these untainted ones, free from error and omissions, are. What are their lives like, what have they accomplished? And perhaps, perhaps they have never made a self-examination. They do not draw up a list of credits and debits, where they would have to write this or that on the FAULTS side....

This thought comes to mind since it is time to relate the experience of Andrzej Micewski. He is known not only to the readers of the Catholic press, but also to the readers of POLITYKA. For this journalist, dialogue is a real thing. Whenever Micewski has something to say, I know I will not be disappointed. Honest arguments are attended by his familiarity with the realities of the world in which it is our destiny to live. Micewski writes precisely what he wants to write. He is not carried away by stylistic prettiness. He does not sacrifice truth for an elegant metaphor. The elimination of all ornament causes his articles and books to be memorable.

In TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (13 January issue), Micewski published an article entitled "The Generational Shift." The author of the article took issue with stupidity masquerading in historical costume and leading astray the naive, through Pilsudski's mustache and the National Democratic nerve. This call is timely: the only program prepared underground is a synthesis of the ideas of Dmowski and the actions of Dziadek. It is a march toward health (moral health) in the footsteps of the first Pilsudski skeleton company: in Kielce we will buy our ticket to the 21st century....

But that is not my point here. Micewski observes: "Recently a certain man writing in the Italian paper IL MESSAGGERO attacking the highest church hierarchy in Poland with great vigor, wrote that I too should not play any role, since I am defeated politically...."

This is what we were waiting for! Not only is Zolkiewski eagerly reckoned with through the aid of the hat (while I am not fond of the phrase "to reckon with someone," it expresses the intentions of our Catos quite faithfully), but Micewski also has fallen to them. It is striking that the charge is scrawled by spokesmen for leaders that make absolutely no mention of their own responsibility for what has happened. So many tons of paper covered with words, so many interviews, so many worship services... Everything was discussed except the question of the moral responsibility of leaders.

Pilsudski's followers after September and the planners of August 1944 in Warsaw were unlucky. Commissions decided who had become a dilettante, who had wasted opportunity, who was not in a position to foresee the course of events and who was ruled out as a politician or a leader. Today things are different. Today we are very sophisticated. No adviser even hints that he evidently gave bad advice. No propagandist states contritely that the propaganda he generated did not reach places less accessible than preschool. No speaker (and we have listened to many) admits that his jabber was based on taking wishes for reality. Not even local leaders stammer that perhaps they led poorly when they are caught unawares....

If we listen closely to this calm after the storm we learn why the targets of attack are always surrogate ones: someone will not greet a man to whom many are indebted. Someone from a safe distance makes a diagnosis that a journalist that favors openness is defeated. What is the point of such manipulations? Are they merely evidence of human pettiness? Perhaps there is something more: the distancing of qualms of conscience from oneself when, during the sleepless nights, the shadows of those that paid the bill for our heroes huddle in the darkness.

8536

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22 April 1985

POLAND

POLLS REVEAL DECLINING TRUST IN JOURNALISTS

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 2, Feb 85 pp 42, 43, 44

[Article by Andrzej Bojarski: "Where Do They Trust Passent?"]

[Text] Let us deal today with a fundamental issue for the profession of journalism, i.e., the issue of trust in journalists and the press. To tell the truth, this is a subject that is extremely sensitive, for several reasons. Most journalists are frequently faced with the dilemma of whether what they write and say based on profound convictions--or guided by other motives--will help to build this trust or to weaken it. After all, it is difficult to win sympathy and the trust of the public by voicing unpopular views that are received unwillingly, the dissemination of which is however advisable from the point of view of the interests of the state. It is particularly difficult to accomplish this when a journalist uses tactless arguments and does not take social attitudes into account in his reasoning. On the other hand, in the journalistic profession it is not possible in the long term to echo uncritically wavering social attitudes, the transitory "wind seizing the sail"; of course, this usually yields certain results, but it is naturally that the memory of them does not last too long.

This may somehow sound like heresy to many people, but it appears that in a journalist's work, uncritically following only social attitudes can as a result lead to many, let us say, mistakes. I recall, for example, that a television news program in the second half of the 1970's--thus during the period of the "propaganda of success"--received extremely high evaluations in Public Opinion Research Center surveys. This fact reinforced people in their undisturbed conviction that this "half-hour of prosperity" was not only fulfilling the orders of the decisionmakers splendidly, but also simultaneously accurate about social needs and attitudes. In a word, it was a miracle, like the one described by the poet: "One only, one miracle: with the Polish nobility, the Polish people, like two choruses--one song!" Nevertheless, these miracles, for which many of my countrymen are so nostalgic, did not last too long. Furthermore, the concept of all the propaganda changed. But--and this is perhaps the most important thing--in spite of very fundamental changes in the propaganda, in spite of its being opened up to social opinions, in positive opinions on the subject of today's journal it is a long way away from those that were expressed during the second half of the 1970's. And I think that

there is no need to wring our hands over this. It simply appears that the credibility of the mass media should not be identified with uncritically echoing all social opinions, which after all differ, even if they are given to us by such a respectable institution as the Public Opinion Research Center.

This remark should also apply to the journalists working in the mass media. Thus, in light of press research, how does the problem of the trust of readers, listeners, and viewers in journalists and the press in general look today? Which of our professional colleagues are valued by our customers? What wins their trust and sympathy? All of this is worth knowing, and not just out of mere curiosity. The answers to these questions are provided by a well-known press scholar, Prof Walery Pisarek, in an extremely interesting article, "Trust in Journalists and the Press," in the latest (No 4) issue of the Krakow quarterly ZESZYTY PRASOZNAWCZE. Reviewing the abundant literature on the subject of the realization between the credibility of the broadcaster and the effectiveness of persuasion, the author leans toward the view that it is easier for the recipient to believe someone he trusts than someone he does not trust. But as it turns out, the matter is subject to further complications, since--as confirmed by the scholarly authorities cited by the author --"...the more the broadcaster induces us to change our opinions, the more we change them, but (and here is the surprise--A.B.) only in matters that do not have great significance. In other words, it appears that football players can persuade us to use one type of shaving cream or another, and pretty women can make us agree with them on some abstract question, but it seems unlikely that they could influence us to the extent that we would want to vote for their candidates in elections or adopt their position on the issue of the legalization of marijuana."

Professor Pisarek continues by dispelling our illusions (if any of my journalistic colleagues have them) about our own popularity and credibility. "Since it turns out," we read in the article cited, "that over half of the adult population of Poland cannot cite the name of even one journalist who would deserve to be trusted, or one whom they trusted completely. The distribution of answers to the question about a journalist worthy of trust is furthermore not constant: in 1980 every other adult Pole, in response to the question about a journalist worthy of trust, cited at least one name. In similar research in 1981, such people constituted close to 60 percent, in 1983 almost 30 percent, and in 1984, 39 percent." As one can thus see, during the last 2 years an increase in the index of trust has begun, although, as the author emphasizes, over 60 percent of those studied still are unable to indicate a single journalist they trust.

Professor Pisarek also calls attention to the fact that people with an elementary education or less more rarely indicate journalists whom they trust, while on the other hand a higher education "mainly leads to citing journalists whom one does not trust." Furthermore, it turns out from the research that "a journalist considered trustworthy is indicated more rarely by people who think that journalists represent the opinions of the authorities and not of society, and that the media do not report in full on Poland and the world, and by those who do not have newspapers or journals with which they would feel themselves to be associated."

In 1984, research was conducted on a 900-person group of Poles (outside of Warsaw), and on the basis of the results from this research, a list was prepared of the 12 journalists most often cited as the ones trusted (the number in parentheses is the percentage of indications; 100 percent = 350): Krystyna Zielinska (30.3 percent), Zygmunt Broniarek (30.0 percent), Grzegorz Wozniak (28.9 percent), Edmund Meclewski (6.9 percent), Adam Bronikowski (6.3 percent) Andrzej Bober (6.0 percent), Karol Malcuzyński (5.1 percent), Andrzej Bilik (5.1 percent), Bronisław Cieślak (4.6 percent), Irena Falska (4.3 percent), Zygmunt Szeliga (3.7 percent), and Daniel Passent (3.4 percent).

Summing up this research and similar research conducted before 1984, Professor Pisarek draws the following conclusions: "1. On the national scale, television contributes to gaining popularity to a considerably greater degree than radio and the press, and this is also followed by broader social trust. (...) 2. The capital of the trust that a journalist has gained for himself among the public is distinguished by a certain durability..."

Among the motives that inclined those studied to trust the journalists selected, the dominant ones were competence, honesty, and likability. Thus, for example, 41 percent of those studied ascribed likability to Irena Falska, 35 percent honesty, and 12 percent competence. No less interesting is who trust whom. It turns out that Krystyna Zielinski and Grzegorz Wozniak are trusted more often by women than men, while the reverse is true of Zygmunt Broniarek, which will certainly distress him. Grzegorz Wozniak and Irena Falska enjoy greater trust in villages and small towns, while on the other hand Daniel Passent gains the trust primarily of the residents of medium and large cities.

The author of the article cited emphasizes that trust in a journalist goes hand in hand with trust in the media. And although, as he states, television is trusted less than the press, people from television are at the head of the list of journalists considered to be the most credible. This fact is interpreted by Professor Pisarek in terms of enormous reach of television and "its pronounced personalizing of journalists' statements. For most of the readers of the press," we read in the article, "the author of a published article is only identified by name or even only by a pseudonym, for radio listeners sometimes also by the sound of the voice, and for television viewers also by external appearance and manner."

Concluding his discussion of the subject of the complex mechanisms determining social trust in journalists and the mass media, Professor Pisarek suggests the hypothesis that "the degree of trust in a newspaper (journal) has a greater immediate effect on trust (or the lack of it) in a press statement than the degree of trust in the journalist as the author of this statement." My assumption is that this does not authorize anyone to voice incredible stupidities through a credible news medium. It also does not mean that the appearance of the name of a trustworthy journalist in a newspaper (or journal) that is not trusted by its readers will not give it splendor. This is worth recalling in our journalistic world.

POLAND

CONFERENCE REVEALS DEEP SPLIT AMONG WRITERS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 23 Feb 85 pp 1,8,9

[Article by Zdzislaw Pietrasik: "Escape to Reality"]

[Text] Writers, government representatives, critics and guests discussed the place and function of literature in the PRL for 2 days. The conference took place on the initiative of the Department of Culture of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Nationwide Organization of Party Writers.

Many questions came up in the conference room: those that have been repeated for 40 years and totally new ones which concern complicated contemporary problems.

The conference materials are to appear in book form, therefore in my text I would like to concentrate on only a few questions which in my estimation are the most important.

Someone who spoke of the expected literary tendencies used a very deceitful turn of phrase: escape to reality. One may run away from reality, which has happened often in our literature, but escape to it? Of course, one may escape to it while escaping from appearances, pretenses and illusions.

This paradoxical turn of phrase reminds us again of the most important tasks placed before Polish literature today: it is to bear true witness to the times. Of course this is neither a new nor an original requirement; all our art has suffered for years from a "mummy complex": it is always being told to store away, preserve, reflect. Because of this literature is fated for realism, from which it sometimes runs away and sometimes does not.

In the years just after the war, the poetics of realism emerged organically, as it were, from the life experiences of Poles who had been subjected to an extermination attempt, with a war, occupation, and yet another defeated uprising behind them. Borowski did not choose his style; it thrust itself on him, for after what he had experienced he could only write as he did. Nalkowska also did not deliberate over how to write "Medaliony" after what she had seen in Auschwitz. In this current of truth and realism, and I use

Stanislaw Stanuch's terms, there was a place for writers of various world-views and political persuasions. The years 1945-48 were characterized by pluralism, with the Marxist KUZNICA on one hand and with the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY circle on the other. Never since, with the possible exception of the 1956 episode, have so many writers, art theoreticians and critics come out on the side of the left. It is characteristic that the present conference was also compared to meetings held by men of letters in precisely those early years.

It was only the Szczecin Conference of 1949 that closed this stage of candor in cultural policy, decreeing socialist realism as the only and officially obligatory poetics. The writer was under the care and protection of special government institutions and in exchange was given a specific commission: to bring about revolutionary changes in the consciousness of the broad mass of readers.

Today one names titles from the 1950's as anecdotes which are sometimes hard to connect with the present likeness of their authors. It is hard to gauge today how much conformity and self-interestedness there was in all this and how much true desire to create a new reality, especially for someone who does not have personal experience. One thing is certain, and that is that even at that worst of times writers were left a certain margin of freedom which some knew how to take advantage of (Iwaszkiewicz, Dabrowska, Breza, Rozewicz, and others). Polish literature is in fact a literature with great talents; in spite of the current exigencies of cultural policy, outstanding works which comprise the impressive canon of our national literature always came into being.

Attempts to rehabilitate the period of socialist realism or give it a fairer assessment appeared in the statements of several participants at the conference. I believe this second demand should be agreed to; without understanding the phenomenon of those years it is hard to understand the later meanderings of Polish literature.

One of the participants in the discussion called realism the lost opportunity of our prose, giving the example that Soviet and American literature took advantage of this opportunity. With us truth has been regulated since 1946, when Borowski's stories were supplied with a note in which stood out in relief against the moral sanctions of this prose. After the October turning point, realism changed rather quickly into small realism, and the social mottos of the "Swiat Nieprzedstawiony" which were brought back in the beginning of the 1970's were not corroborated by the new privacy or by the so-called prose of the new names of recent years.

Disheartened readers turned to the literature of fact. In the 1970's, psychological accounts, women's (because it was mainly written by women) accounts which "hackney" details on the basis of pars pro toto essentially bailed out belles-lettres. Much truth of those years remained in these texts which describe how an ordinary Polish woman gets up in the morning, boils the milk, sends one child to the nursery and the other to school, then rushes to work, etc. Probably nowhere in the world is there an equivalent to our native literature of fact.

But there is also Ryszard Kapuscinski, whose literary accounts show the more universal pathology of authority. "Cesarz" and "Szachinszach" have attained tremendous popularity abroad in recent years, which is attested to by the number of their translations into various languages. I constantly dream about a book by Kapuscinski which would show Poland in the years at the turn of the 1970's and 1980's.

A new phenomenon at the present time is an unusual interest in history, and not only Polish history; books by Baszkiewicz also disappear instantaneously from bookstore shelves.

Whether this is an escape to historicism, as some people think, the comparison of historical Poland with Poland today, I do not know; I think that without sociological studies it is easy to make rash judgments.

Much was said at the conference about the fact that the consciousness of Polish society in 1985 is directed backward and not forward, that it is inclined to succumb to revived myths and symbols, and in the meantime the world is absorbed with something completely different, it simply develops science and industry, becomes wealthy and strengthens, and we may really be standing in the face of the threat of the degradation of civilization.

Is culture responsible for such a mental state of society? Andrzej Wasilewski read a paper entitled "People and the State in an Age of Crisis," which is an unmerciful lampoon of this consciousness of ours and of the culture which does not alter it: "It is sad to think," I quote Wasilewski, "that Polish culture, in whose bloodstream runs the sarcasm of Witkacy and Gombrowicz, which shatters the most cunning deceit, which developed so many preventive vaccinations against infectious typhoid and attitudinizing pompousness, remains frightened, passive and helpless in the face of the greatest wave of mythomania that has been visited upon us for a century." Wasilewski considers the most burdensome legacy to be the "decline after the relationship established between romanticism and the counter-reformation."

It is my view that in the opinions about our historical and national consciousness, and this was one of the dominant topics, there was missing a response to an extremely essential question, namely why this consciousness is what it is and not different, and why are certain values accepted uncritically and not others? It is not true that it is only sarmatism, counter-reformation, and romanticism; it may be that there are closer reasons and more prosaic ones. This is also a great theme for literature.

Who Is the Great Writer Today?

Andrzej Mencwel, in critical reflections which were published not long ago entitled "Spoiwa" [Binding Agents], writes of the various functions of a writer: he may be an artist coordinating the extraordinary harmony of sounds, he may be a poet-prophet, man of letters-technician who knows how to practice his profession well, and also a writer-activist, a writer-propagandist, and finally a peddler-tradesman who produces on commission a product ordered by a disposer.

Of course, there can be even more of these functions if we add the possible combinations; one can be simultaneously, after all, a technician, activist and propagandist.

The situation of the writer in the 40 years after the war has never been easy, which is best attested to by the complicated biographies of writers and the vicissitudes of their work. To the credit of the entire literature one can undoubtedly include the fact that it shared the fate of the people and the state, passing through twists and turns in the vicinity of such significant dates in our recent history as 1948, 1956, 1968, 1976 and 1980. Each of these turning points was connected with a change in cultural policy; thus once there were "engineers of the soul," and then it was "writers, stick to writing." All of this caused a lack of feeling of stability, and the distance felt by certain circles to emergency "government orders" rose, for it was not forgotten that on the occasion of successive "Polish months" the most furiously attacked were precisely those who at the previous stage were the most submissive. After August it was even attempted to undermine the authority of the writer who "survived everything" by appeasement, by being a mediator and arbitrator in the conflicts between the authorities and the writers. We are speaking here of Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, against whom there are grievances precisely for the reason that he "survived everything," since this is not a virtue with us but circumstantial evidence of a crime.

The consciousness of the writer today, rich with the experiences of this 40-year period, is constantly coming up against the reality which is taking place. After August, literature was reviled for not having foreseen that which followed, had not shown the social mood or the truth about the Gierek years in general; it had of course become representational art, loyal to the government, co-creator of the propaganda of success. In this kind of general talk, exceptions and details are omitted, and in this case we are referring to people who, being writers, saw, knew and wanted to give warning, but to whom no one wanted to listen. Next, the majority of this circle devoted themselves to renewal as if to expiate not always committed sins. The situation changed diametrically once more in 1981, and the atmosphere of psychological collapse was made worse by the suspension and then the disbanding of the Union of Polish Writers. The union was soon reactivated, but it ceased to be the prevailing organization of Polish writers. We are not even talking of percentages here, for in terms of percent the great majority belongs to it; however, among those remaining there are also recognized authors who have a following. In culture, unfortunately, the exceptions do not prove the rule.

But it is not only political options and choices of worldview that determine a writer's place in contemporary Poland. In general, the prestige of authors has decreased. Of all possible forms of patronage the worst is a crisis. Our (very) small realism of the 1980's, with its cult of pragmatism and with the progressive pauperization of intellectuals, does not foster the creation of subtle and refined works. In any case these are not the values most highly regarded by the reformed art of printing, which makes more on a beer label than on a small volume of poetry. Anyway poetry is dying out, but this is a separate topic which no one wants to take up; this was evident during the conference too: when a paper about poetry was announced, the room suddenly emptied out; the majority preferred to go out for a smoke.

Publishing houses draw up contracts for books which may come out only in 5 years or even later, and perhaps then they will only be a testimony to the times in which they were written.

Then there is the Polish writer in an extremely stressful situation: he knows that it will be increasingly more difficult for him to publish his next book, that he will make comparatively less and less, and above all he is conscious of the expectations which he may not be able to meet. The basic difficulty lies in mastering a certain squaring of a circle: write a modern book, a biting one, involved, depicting the real world, and at the same time do it in such a way that the book will be published. I have some knowledge of life and I remember that every power has demanded committed and critical novels, but when they finally were created the censure of the crown fell on them: we were not talking about this kind of criticism!

Much was said at the conference about the need for a modern political novel. The facts, however, speak best about actual intentions. A few titles were recently published which had previously been repressed or had even first appeared in Paris (like Andrzejewski's "Apelacja" [Appeal] or Madej's "Masc na Szczury" [Rat Ointment]). The most recent example of such awaited prose could be Siejak's "Proba" [Attempt], although, as the author writes in his afterword, the piece "had been worked on" jointly for a long time.

In order not to return to the situation we have known in the past when literature was ordered to fill in the gulf separating ideal reality from existing reality, the requirement contained in Witold Nawrocki's statement must be realized: "We are not talking about verbal exertions but about the future formation of a line of conduct that in concrete publishing decisions would affirm that the writer who believed the assurances about the need for cognitive boldness would get suitable protection for a work that critically appraises reality."

Otherwise we will continue to wait for a great novel about our times, helplessly looking over books about nothing in the bookstores, only the high prices of which will be a signal from reality.

How Many Patrons Are There Currently?

A fact no one tries to hide today is that the state has ceased to be the sole patron of culture in the PRL. Ignoring this truth would be senseless not only because "everybody sees anyway," but because only a true knowledge of the Polish cultural landscape from the first half of the 1980's will allow us to formulate objective assessments and make a prognosis for the future.

How many patrons are there currently? Some say there are two, others three. The church has become active in a spectacular way in recent years by gathering around itself a large group of artists and intellectuals. It so happened that a large portion of them are artists who in the past had been situated close to power. This phenomenon became the object of a very interesting debate. Appearing as a guest, Zygmunt Lichniak of PAX refuted the charges of those who had spoken earlier of the church garnering former leftists for itself. Lichniak said that the church is not actively taking possession of anyone,

that "they are pushing their way in through the doors and windows by themselves." This formulation evoked resounding laughter in the hall among the former comrades of the present converts. Jerzy Putrament expressed his position the most drastically: "A dog licked their kissers. We do not miss them at all; you can have them..."

This was, however, an extreme statement in its own way; in other reports, especially those of the representatives among the authorities, assurances about the openness of cultural policy were repeated again. We are for reversions, said Waldemar Swirgon, but against a doubled attendance, taking advantage of two patrons simultaneously.

It is characteristic that concerning the assessment of the church's patronage, the views of the official guests at the conference were expressed more than the voices of the majority of those giving papers, who noted only the negative sides of the phenomenon. The response from the speakers' rostrum was as follows: One should not jump to quick and simplified conclusions. The church was the inspiration for many significant works, especially in architecture; it may be that only certain churches have the chance to enter the future as important achievements of Polish architecture, which one cannot really say about construction for living quarters and industry. Because of the church's commission, musical works by great composers get created and also works of outstanding artists. The output is part of our national culture.

In short, this is now a patron who deserves serious treatment. This means that attention should be paid not just to the very fact of its existence, but to the proposed values and substance.

There is also a Western patron who has been very "productive" in recent years. The post-December emigration, especially in Paris and in London, has at its disposal great publishing opportunities and it takes advantage of them. In connection with the fact that in the majority of cases these are works known to only a handful of Polish readers, it is hard to form categorical and convincing assessments. One thing is certain, and that is that no truly outstanding works have appeared there in recent years; no new Gombrowicz or Milosz has shown up.

A question that had been posed several years ago was returned to at the conference: is Polish literature a single whole? The response was negative. It was argued with the supporters of the idea of a single literature (it is hard to tell if there were such people in the conference hall) that language by itself is not a sufficient binding element.

In his paper "The Landscape of Polish Literature in the 40-Year Period," Witold Nawrocki described the differences between literature originating within the country and abroad thus: "They arise out of different areas of experience, with different communicative goals, they operate through already different models of cultural tradition, and they are different even in the sphere of language."

These latter differences refer, as one may surmise, only to the oldest generation of emigrants or their children, who have no contact with the land of their fathers.

But even more important than definitions is another concrete problem: should Polish literature which originates abroad be published in Poland? We know the answer partially already, for this literature has been published in part. Among others, the following have appeared: Czapski, Vincenz, Milosz many times (Wydawnictwo Literackie recently came out with the most extensive selection of Milosz's poetry to date, in two volumes), and we continue to wait for Gombrowicz, who is shown by Polish theaters, which are not waiting.

How will it be in the future? Marian Stepien spoke convincingly about the advantages of publishing emigre works of lasting artistic value that are devoid of an antisocialist edge. It is better to publish than not to publish for at least two reasons: first, whoever wants to will read them anyway, and second, on the other hand, as history has shown, that they will be published someday anyway, so it is better to publish them earlier without the impression of acting under the influence of circumstances.

Is Criticism To Blame for Everything?

One of the critics going up to the speaker's rostrum introduced himself as follows: I belong to a profession which is no longer. In this ironic manner he linked up with the tone of very many statements, which spoke of the critics in the worst possible way.

Kazimierz Wyka was mentioned with great deference many times during the conference, concluding with a sigh that there is a lack of such unquestionable authorities today. It is true that criticism is diffuse and divided today, and the variety of criteria is the reason why in one periodical a work may be written about in a positive way, and in another the same work may be treated negatively, and even the averagely informed lover of literature will easily notice that the true merits of the work being discussed are not always the determining ones. And so what very often decides are political considerations, and this is understandable, for after all a political battle also continues for works. All this is obvious, but we should not exaggerate anything. The accusation formulated recently by Michal Misiorny that leftist writers are not always written about positively in the pages of party papers is an example of sectarian thinking which this same author relegates to the other side of the barricade, if I may use a military expression (the explosion of vocabulary in this area in modern journalism is a grateful topic for a specialist in journalism). Literature of the second circulation, lacking precisely this honest and genuine criticism, and assessed to some extent by the very creative act, the intentions and the personality of the author, did not make out very well in this.

All of this, and let us remember too the most common genial arrangements--first I will praise you and then you praise me--caused criticism essentially to lose its credibility to a large degree. But is this only a matter of criticism and critics? Wyka, praised after the years (for it was not always

thus during his lifetime), wrote precisely in this way, that when things start going bad for literature one talks about the critics.

This matter is basically secondary, for as the old hands say, this is a typical and universal phenomenon; almost everywhere in the world critics are spoken of badly. We are more concerned with this, and because of this there are "remedial measures" planned. I am afraid, however, that nothing good will come of this; the situation will not change overnight even if we were to create special institutes (and they will be created) or publish a new periodical (and it probably will come out).

In general, a person attending the conference could emerge with the impression that what we are missing the most are periodicals of a varied sort. The initiative comes from below: young people have aspirations, regions, associations, etc. My view is that we have more than enough of such periodicals, but they are not actually utilized for literature. Why, for instance, is there so little literature in the weeklies for young people that have such large circulations and interesting graphics (ITD, RAZEM, WALKA MŁODYCH, NOWA WIES)? Literary groups, including these, used to converge upon the editorial staff and this was in general a very useful marriage.

Of course, one may lay all the blame on the critic, but nothing will come of it. The critic cannot write a book for a writer, and he will not compose a poem for a poet. As Hemingway said, the critic is like an insect on the collar of literature. He feeds himself on literature, so he cares about its condition, but he himself cannot produce its sustenance.

Fortunately there are still quite a few writers left who know how to write books.

12635

CSO: 2600/675

POLAND

BRIEFS

DECREE ON DEFENSE STUDIES SOCIETY--Executive Order of the Minister of Internal Affairs dated 14 November 1984 on the Ratification and Publication of the Statute of the Public Service Association "Defense Studies Society": Pursuant to Section 2 of the Executive Order of the Council of Ministers dated 27 April 1972 on the Recognition of the Military and Defense Studies Society as a Public Service Association (DZIENNIK USTAW No 16, Item 117 and DZIENNIK USTAW No 36, 1977 Item 159) it is ordered as follows: Section 1. The statute of the public service association "Defense Studies Society" is hereby ratified. The text of the statute will be published separately. Section 2. The Executive Order of the Minister of Internal Affairs dated 19 January 1978 on the Ratification and Publication of the Statute of the Public Service Association "Defense Studies Society" (MONITOR POLSKI No 1, Item 10) is hereby rescinded. Section 3. This executive order becomes effective on the date of its publication. Minister of Internal Affairs, C. Kiszczak [signed]. [Text] [Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 25, 22 Nov 84 Item 169 p 248]

CSO: 2600/684

ROMANIA

REMOVAL, APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS REPORTED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 10, 23 Feb 85 p 1

[Presidential Decree on Removals From and Appointments to Positions]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. Comrade Constantin Marin is relieved of his position as deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry.

Article 2. Comrade Gheorghe Glaman is appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry.

Article 3. Comrade Virgil Matei is appointed deputy chairman of the National Council for Water Resources.

Article 4. Comrade Lidia Oradean is relieved of her position as state secretary in the Ministry of Health.

Article 5. Comrade Veronica Ciobanete is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Health.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 21 February 1985
No 25

CSO: 2700/137

22 April 1985

ROMANIA

WEEKLY DISCUSSES DASCALESCU-TIKHONOV MOSCOW TALKS

AU211907 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1747 GMT 21 Mar 85

["Dynamic Development of Romanian-Soviet Collaboration"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Mar (AGERPRES)--Under the above headline the weekly LUMEA of 21 March runs a commentary which reads:

Falling within the productive framework of the Romanian-Soviet mansided relations, the recent working meeting in Moscow between Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and N.A. Tikhonov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, goes down, owing to its results, as a new expression of the friendly, fruitful cooperation that develops steadily between the two parties, countries and peoples. It is one more proof of the solid, principled foundation of the links of collaboration between the two neighbor socialist countries, of their ascending course which was given a decisive impact by the Romanian-Soviet summits and the important understandings reached on the occasion, in the interests of the two peoples, all while contributing actively to the cause of peace, socialism and international cooperation. The primordial significance of such like moments for the development of bilateral relations is attested by the summit talks conducted in June 1984 and the recent meeting between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as the Romanian prime minister pointed out in his toast.

As Nicolae Ceausescu recently showed, Romania is determined to do everything possible for the continuous development of its ties with the Soviet Union, in line with the Romanian party and states position in principle on the strong development of relations with all the socialist countries, with the neighbor states in the first place. In that context, which is indicative of the decisive role of the summit dialogue, and relevant for the framework in which the RCP and the Romanian state conceive of the further development of the Romanian-Soviet links, the assessments are recalled Nicolae Ceausescu made in his telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev on his having been elected

general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, the telegram expresses the firm belief that through joint action the traditional Romanian-Soviet relations of close friendship and collaboration, as well as the militant solidarity between the two parties and states will be further strengthened.

Benefitting from like fertile groundwork, the exchange of opinions between the two ministers, which passed in a friendly comradely atmosphere, focused on measures to further consolidate the manysided cooperation between Romania and the USSR, with a view to implementing the understandings reached during the Romanian-Soviet summits.

Special emphasis was placed during the talks on cooperation in the economic field, which reflected in the conclusion of joint Romanian-Soviet documents on the development of goods exchanges and economic collaboration between the two countries over 1986-1990.

The determination was expressed to jointly find new ways and means of expanding and deepening collaboration between the two states, their economic exchanges, specialization of and cooperation in production, all while rallying their efforts for the resolution of economic problems of mutual interest. Along the same line, problems were examined related to the preparation of an agreement on economic and technical-scientific collaboration between the two countries until the year 2000.

Such an approach, which is both palpable and comprehensive and has immediate and long-term targets, meets the two sides interests in the stronger development of bilateral economic links. Further, it accords with the resolutions adopted by the CMEA summit economic meeting held in Moscow in June 1984. The major idea of the talks, as well as of the documents signed during the CMEA economic meeting is that of most efficiently capitalizing the possibilities of jointly solving the problems of utmost importance for the two countries economic progress, in their mutual interest, in the interest of enhancing the strength and influence of socialism in the world. The implementation of the documents signed during the talks between the two prime ministers will undoubtedly take the mutually advantageous economic and technical-scientific collaboration between the two countries on to a higher stage. Undoubtedly, an analysis of the current stage of the Romanian-Soviet economic ties, of the concrete prerequisites for their development shows that the identification of new possibilities of cooperation may lead to a rise in the planned volume of exchanges which may double by the end of the current 5-year plan period.

Showing that the agenda of the talks also included questions of the current international life, the commentary points out: As is known, in this area Romania wishes to intensify its cooperation with the Soviet Union, with a view to safeguarding peace, avoiding a nuclear disaster and ensuring the success of the Geneva talks between the USSR and the U.S.A., as Nicolae Ceausescu showed in his telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev. As was natural, on approaching such cardinal problems, the two prime ministers also expressed the joint resolve to intensify the two countries cooperation in

the international arena for the cessation of the arms race, of the nuclear arms race first and foremost, for a ban on tests with and on the manufacture and development of new nuclear weapons, for a halt to the deployment of new nuclear arms in Europe and in the world, for the prevention of outer space militarization, for international peace, detente and security.

Owing to their results, to the wide range of concrete problems approached, the recent talks in Moscow highlighted the joint will and real possibilities of working, in the spirit of the decisions made at top level, for the further dynamic development of the Romanian-Soviet many-sided collaboration, in the interests of the two peoples, of the cause of peace and socialism, the commentary shows in conclusion.

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ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU AWARDED BY FOREIGN STUDENTS DELEGATION

AU142114 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 14 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Mar (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, received on 14 March the members of the delegation of the International Union of Students who came to Romania to hand over to the Romanian head of state the "17th November" Gold Medal, in token of homage and valuation of his long revolutionary activity, of the conditions of work and life created for the young generation in Romania and the outstanding contribution made to the cause of peace, progress and prosperity of all peoples, to the building of a better and more just world on our planet.

The ceremony was attended by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Stepan Miroslav, president of the International Union of Students, head of the delegation, handed over the high distinction, the patent and the decision to award it.

Taking the floor, Stepan Miroslav said inter alia:

It is a great honor for the delegation of the International Union of Students to come to Bucharest in order to implement the decision of the IUS secretariat to award the 17th November Medal to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The 17th November Medal is the highest distinction of the International Union of Students, and is awarded in the name of millions of students the world over by the secretariat of the IUS for meritorious work in the interests of students and for an outstanding contribution to the cause of peace and to a better future for mankind.

After referring to the IUS objectives in the current international circumstances, to the organization's efforts to solve the fundamental issues of contemporary world, Stepan Miroslav stressed that the International Union

of Students considers that International Youth Year can and must create the conditions for a comprehensive tackling of the specific issues confronting the younger generation, and for the adoption of policies and programs for youth, intended to ensure the active involvement of youth in the process of solving the issues of contemporary world in the interest of the peoples.

He then highlighted "the active position of the Union of Communist Student associations of Romania, a founding member of the IUS, which is actively promoting in the international student movement the foreign policy of Socialist Romania, of the struggle for peace, cooperation, the promotion of students' interests, for the development of education, and for building a better and more just world."

Showing that the International Union of Students highly appreciates Nicolae Ceausescu's personal contribution, made since his early youth in the leadership of the revolutionary youth movement in Romania, in the struggle of the younger generation and of the whole Romanian people, for the liberation of the homeland from fascist domination, his contribution to the settlement of the problems of the contemporary world, to the cause of peace, democracy and social progress, to the strengthening of the struggle [of] progressive democratic, and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, for peace and disarmament, for a new international economic order and for a better and more just world, the speaker said:

The International Student Movement is aware of and appreciates your constant care for ensuring an improvement of conditions of work, study and life for the younger generation, for the assertion of youth, including students, in the life of society as a whole.

Taking into account all these contributions, the IUS secretariat awards you the 17th November Medal as an expression of the outstanding prestige you enjoy within the younger generation, including students, all over the world.

The medal bears the inscription "17th November 1939," the date when powerful student anti-fascist demonstrations took place in Prague, which were turned into a bloodbath by the invading Hitlerite troops.

Thanking for the medal awarded, President Nicolae Ceausescu made a speech.

At the end of the ceremony, the Romanian head of state cordially conversed with the members of the delegation of the International Union of Students.

CSO: 2020/97

ROMANIA

PARTY BODY PAYS HOMAGE TO 'CEAUSESCU EPOCH'

AU262013 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Mar (AGERPRES)--A meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was held in Bucharest on 26 March, chaired by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

The members of the Executive Political Committee addressed Nicolae Ceausescu warm congratulations and wishes on the celebration of two decades since his election to the supreme leading office in the party. In the address made on the occasion, Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister, said inter alia: Two decades have passed since the March 1965 plenary meeting that expressed the will and aspirations of the Communists and of the whole Romanian people and elected you to the supreme office leading the Romanian Communist Party, the destiny of the homeland and people, opening the time of the greatest and most brilliant achievements in the millenium-old history of the homeland, that the people rightly call "The Ceausescu Epoch."

Highlighting that in everything achieved over the period the Romanian people has sensed the clearsightedness and daringness of the revolutionary thinking and action of the RCP general secretary that stems from a boundless love for his homeland and people, for the general truths of the scientific socialism creatively applied to the conditions specific in Romania, Constantin Dascalescu showed that the Communists, all the sons of Romania appreciated highly President Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution to the development and updating of the national economy, the continuous improvement of the societal organization and management, the development and deepening of the socialist democracy, the thriving of science and education, art and culture, the continuous improvement of the material and spiritual well-being of the whole people, the making of a new man, the aware builder of socialism and communism.

Paying homage to the celebration of the two decades since your election at the head of the party, the speaker went on, we evoke the contribution you have been making to solving the great problems of the contemporary world, to developing a climate of international peace, security and collaboration and to the setting up of a juster and better world on our planet. In conclusion the speaker addressed to Nicolae Ceausescu a moving

homage, the warmest wishes of good health and happiness so that he may further lead the country with the same clearheadedness and revolutionary firmness along the path of the work and struggle successes of the Romanian people.

Taking the floor, Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the appreciation of his activity and said: "There are indeed 20 years since the party entrusted on me the high office of general secretary. Everything that has been achieved along these years is the fruit of the activity of the party, of our Central Committee, of the Executive Political Committee and, most of all, the fruit of the activity of workers, farmers, intellectuals, of the whole people, the true maker of everything we have achieved in Romania."

He stressed we should do our best to take the homeland and our people on to higher peaks of progress and civilization. "I also think of our Communist Party--the tried leader of the whole nation--and wish the increase of its revolutionary unity and combativeness, the strengthening of the activity of the Central Committee, of the Executive Political Committee. Only in full unity, only acting in a revolutionary spirit will the Central Committee, the Executive Political Committee, the whole party be able to fulfill under the best of conditions their role in our society."

CSO: 2020/97

ROMANIA

MEDIA ON 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF 'CEAUSESCU ERA'

AU251459 [Editorial Report] Romanian media, in particular the press, have given extensive coverage to the 20th anniversary of the election of Nicolae Ceausescu to the post of secretary general of the RCP Central Committee.

Bucharest SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 22 March each devote four and a half pages (pp 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6) to the anniversary. Both dailies carry several pictures of Ceausescu as well as many short articles on the anniversary whose headlines are printed in red ink; likewise, statistics which proclaim the "great" achievements of the Romanian people in many fields of activity during the "Ceausescu Era," also appear in red. Similarly, both dailies on pages 1-2 carry poems and articles as "Homage to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Brilliant Founder of the Historical Period That Bears His Name." A photo montage of pictures of both Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu taken during foreign visits and when receiving various international awards appears on the last page of both dailies: in SCINTEIA under the heading "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--Firm Promoter of the Policy of Deep Humanism and Responsibility for the Destiny of Mankind"; and in ROMANIA LIBERA under "A Deep Appreciation of Nicolae Ceausescu's Fruitful Activity Dedicated to Peace and To Building a Better and More Just World."

In addition to the above press coverage, the weekly Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 12 of 21 March carries on pages 4-5 a 15000-word article by Radu Pascal entitled: "Two Decades of Strong Assertion in the Awareness of the World." The article highly extols Ceausescu's domestic and international activities.

The Romanian electronic media have also carried items on the anniversary. Bucharest AGERPRES English service at 1758 GMT on 22 March carried a 1500-word article entitled "Twenty Years in Romania's Contemporary History," which stresses the development of the Romanian economy and agriculture in the past 20 years, providing statistics, noting the "impressive, fast-paced development of production forces" and of all "economic branches" during this period.

Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0500 GMT on 22 March carried a 130-word report noting the anniversary (ref item). The radio repeated the item several times on 22 March. Bucharest Radio has not been observed to carry any additional items on the anniversary.

LAW ON FEDERAL SECRETARIAT FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 7, 15 Feb 85 pp 331-338

[Law enacted by the SFRY Assembly in a session of the Federal Chamber on 14 February 1985 and signed by Veselin Djuranovic, chairman of the SFRY State Presidency, and Dusan Alimpic, president of the SFRY Assembly: "Law on Conduct of Internal Affairs in the Jurisdiction of Federal Administrative Agencies"]

[Text] I. Basic Provisions

Article 1

This law regulates the internal affairs conducted by federal administrative agencies; relations in the conduct of internal affairs in the jurisdiction of federal administrative agencies; the authority of personnel in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs; certain aspects of employment relations of personnel in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs; resources for operation of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs; and the functions, tasks and organization of the Security Institute.

Article 2

In the domain of internal affairs federal administrative agencies shall:

- 1) handle matters of state security necessary to discharging the responsibility of federal bodies and agencies as set forth in the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, take action to ensure implementation of the guidelines of the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY State Presidency and the Federal Executive Council to protect the order set forth in the SFRY Constitution (state security), and on those foundations coordinate the work of administrative agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces handling the matters of state security;
- 2) handle matters pertaining to the movement and sojourn of foreigners and the conditions for crossing the national border as defined by federal law;
- 3) handle matters pertaining to monitoring passenger traffic over the national border as defined by federal law;

- 4) handle matters of security of federal bodies, agencies and organizations, certain individuals and foreign diplomatic and consular missions;
- 5) handle matters pertaining to the importation, distribution and dissemination of the foreign press and other news and communications media as defined by federal law;
- 6) handle scientific research matters necessary to supporting the activity of the state security service as defined by federal law;
- 7) handle matters pertaining to the sale and transport of explosives, radioactive substances, and other hazardous substances and to the transport of flammable liquids and gases as defined by federal law;
- 8) handle matters related to citizenship in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as defined by federal law;
- 9) handle matters pertaining to the collection, recording and processing of data and to reporting on occurrences in the domain of internal affairs of interest to the entire country and to coordinating the development, mutual linkage and functioning of the unified information system of law enforcement agencies;
- 10) handle matters pertaining to monitoring the general situation and proposing basic solutions in the domain of vital statistics, identity cards and highway traffic safety;
- 11) ensure that international treaties are performed and international obligations discharged in the domain of internal affairs and matters of international aid and other forms of international cooperation in the law enforcement field;
- 12) handle administrative, specialized and other matters necessary to enforcement of federal laws, other federal statutes and general acts and international treaties in the domain of internal affairs and other specialized functions in this domain to meet the needs of the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council.

Federal administrative agencies shall also handle other internal affairs as set forth in federal law.

Federal administrative agencies which handle internal affairs shall be responsible for the enforcement of federal laws, other federal statutes and general acts and international treaties in the domains enumerated in Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1, 2, 4, 5 and 11, of this article, and in those domains they shall also handle matters directly when federal law so provides.

Article 3

The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs (hereinafter "the Federal Secretariat") shall handle the internal affairs in the jurisdiction of federal

administrative agencies except those matters which federal law has placed in the jurisdiction of other federal administrative agencies.

Article 4

The Federal Secretariat shall handle matters within its jurisdiction independently, on the basis and in the framework of the SFRY Constitution, federal law and regulations enacted on the basis of federal law.

Article 5

Within the limits of its rights and duties as set forth in federal law the Federal Secretariat shall conduct the policy set forth in the domain of internal affairs and shall see to the enforcement of federal laws, other federal statutes and general acts and international treaties for whose enforcement it is responsible; monitor the situation in the domain of internal affairs and take responsibility for the situation in that domain within the limits of the rights and duties of the Federation; report to the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council on its work and on the situation in the domain of internal affairs; resolve administrative issues and exercise administrative oversight over the enforcement of federal laws, other federal statutes and general acts and international treaties when it is so authorized by federal law.

The Federal Secretariat shall cooperate with federal administrative agencies and federal organizations in organizing and undertaking the measures of social self-protection.

Within the confines of its jurisdiction the Federal Secretariat shall furnish specialized assistance to federal bodies and agencies and organizations in the performance of social self-protection.

Article 6

The Federal Secretariat shall carry on cooperation with the appropriate foreign agencies and organizations on matters which arise out of membership in the International Organization of Criminalistic Policy and from other international obligations of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia related to the prevention and detection of crimes and their perpetrators; keep criminalistic records on cases which have an international element; announce international pursuits and declare central pursuits and issue the appropriate announcements and registers concerning pursuits; coordinate the actions of administrative agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces with jurisdiction over internal affairs when those agencies are directly carrying international treaties or when they are directly handling certain matters which arise out of international cooperation in the domain of internal affairs, but also the action of those agencies related to the prevention and detection of crimes which have an international element and their perpetrators and to see that extraditions are carried out.

Article 7

The Federal Secretariat shall directly handle the functions of securing federal bodies, agencies and organizations and foreign diplomatic and consular missions and shall also handle certain matters related to securing certain individuals.

There shall be a police unit in the Federal Secretariat for performance of the functions referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The Federal Executive Council shall state which facilities and which individuals shall be secured by the police unit in the Federal Secretariat.

Article 8

The Federal Secretariat shall perform professional analyses and professional technical functions whereby greater success is ensured in performance of the tasks of law enforcement agencies on the basis of the agreement between the Federal Secretariat and the administrative agencies competent for internal affairs of the republics and provinces.

Article 9

The federal secretary for internal affairs (hereinafter "the federal secretary") shall be responsible to the SFRY Assembly and to the Federal Executive Council for his own work and for the work of the Federal Secretariat as well as for the situation in the domain of internal affairs, within the limits of his rights and duties as set forth in federal law.

The federal secretary is required to submit a report on the work of the Federal Secretariat and on the situation in the domain of internal affairs to the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council.

In sessions of the bodies referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article the federal secretary may request that the submittal of the reports on particular matters be postponed for a certain time or that the public be excluded when the reports on certain matters are presented. The federal secretary is required to inform the chairman of the relevant body of the SFRY Assembly or of the Federal Executive Council as to the grounds for postponing submittal of reports and for exclusion of the public.

Article 10

In those matters which the Federal Secretariat handles directly, when national security makes it necessary, the federal secretary may order by his own decision that certain measures which depart from the principle of the inviolability of the secrecy of the mail and other means of communication be taken toward certain individuals, organizations or communities.

Article 11

The State Security Service within the Federal Secretariat shall handle the matters of protecting the order established by the SFRY Constitution (state security) within the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat.

The State Security Service within the Federal Secretariat shall gather data and information with a view to detection and prevention of activities aimed at undermining or destroying the order established by the SFRY Constitution and at threatening national security and shall accordingly take other necessary steps and actions on the basis of federal law and statutes enacted in conformity with federal law.

The Federal Executive Council may order that the Federal Secretariat shall itself handle certain matters and specific tasks in the domain of state security for which it is directly responsible.

Article 12

Within the Federal Secretariat two assistant secretaries may be appointed as follows:

- 1) an assistant secretary for matters pertaining to the internal functioning of organizational units of the Federal Secretariat and to coordination of their work, excepting the organizational units of the State Security Service, to organizing and carrying on cooperation with other federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, with administrative agencies of the republics and provinces and with the appropriate self-managing organizations and communities, as well as to other tasks and matters as set forth in the general act on the organization chart of tasks and functions;

- 2) an assistant secretary for matters pertaining to coordinating and unifying the work of the organizational units of the State Security Service within the Federal Secretariat and to coordinating the work of the State Security Services within the administrative agencies competent for internal affairs of the republics and provinces and to carrying on cooperation with other federal administrative agencies in the domain of state security as well as to other tasks and functions as set forth in the general act on the organizational chart of tasks and functions.

II. Relations in the Handling of Internal Affairs

Article 13

In matters of common interest the Federal Secretariat shall organize cooperation with the administrative agencies competent for internal affairs of the republics and provinces for the purpose of examining and reconciling views and for the purpose of coordinating plans and security measures.

In the procedure of preparing enactments to implement federal laws the federal secretary shall obtain the opinion of officials heading the administrative agencies competent for internal affairs of the republics and provinces.

Article 14

In matters of state security the Federal Secretariat and the administrative agencies competent for internal affairs of the republics and provinces are required to cooperate with one another and offer assistance in the performance of tasks, to organize the handling of certain matters by agreement, and to inform one another about matters important to the security of the entire country.

Article 15

In matters where the Federal Secretariat is directly responsible for the enforcement of federal laws, other federal statutes and general acts and international treaties, the federal secretary may issue instructions to govern the work of administrative agencies competent for internal affairs of the republic or autonomous province.

Article 16

The Federal Secretariat shall conduct an inspection of the enforcement of federal laws, other federal statutes and general acts and international treaties when the administrative agencies competent for internal affairs of the republics and autonomous provinces are actually carrying out those laws, other enactments and general acts and international treaties and when the Federal Secretariat is responsible for their execution.

An agency in which an inspection is being conducted is required to facilitate examination of all matters pertaining to the enforcement of federal laws, other federal statutes and general acts and international treaties and to provide the necessary data and information.

If the person conducting the inspection finds that the agency in which the inspection is being conducted has not been enforcing federal laws and other federal statutes and general acts and international treaties or if he finds other irregularities in the enforcement of those enactments, he shall so inform the official who heads that agency and the federal secretary and shall propose the measures which are to be taken.

Article 17

The administrative agencies competent for internal affairs of the republics and provinces are required to report to the Federal Secretariat on the enforcement of federal laws, other federal statutes and general acts and international treaties for whose enforcement the Federal Secretariat is responsible, and accordingly to submit to it the necessary data and information on occurrences and events in the domain of internal affairs.

The data and information on occurrences and events in the domain of internal affairs of interest to the entire country shall be gathered, recorded and processed in a uniform manner and within the framework of the unified information system of law enforcement agencies in conformity with federal.

In conformity with federal law the federal secretary shall determine which data and information on occurrences and events in the domain of internal affairs are of interest to the entire country.

Data on occurrences and events in the domain of internal affairs of interest to the entire country shall be collected, recorded and processed according to the methodology prescribed by the federal secretary.

III. Authority of Personnel in the Federal Secretariat

Article 18

Certain personnel in the Federal Secretariat shall have special rights and duties as defined by this law (hereinafter "authorized official personnel") in performance of tasks and functions in the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat.

Personnel in the Federal Secretariat who work on operational missions and the jobs of state and public security and other personnel whose activity and responsibility are directly related to the performance of those functions are considered to be authorized official personnel.

In conformity with service regulations the federal secretary shall designate which personnel as referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article are authorized official personnel.

Special credentials shall be issued to authorized official personnel. The federal secretary shall prescribe the form of the credentials.

Article 19

Persons subject to military service who pursuant to the federal law regulating required military service are conducting military exercises in the Federal Secretariat and who have been assigned the performance of certain functions in the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat shall be regarded as authorized official personnel in the context of Article 18 of this law so long as they are performing those functions.

Article 20

Authorized official personnel are required to perform official tasks and functions within the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat even when the performance of those tasks and functions may be hazardous to their lives.

Article 21

When authorized official personnel are performing tasks and functions within the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat, citizens and persons performing functions in organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, public organizations and civic associations, agencies of sociopolitical communities and other government agencies are required to

follow the orders which the authorized official person issues in conformity with law.

Article 22

In order to apprehend the perpetrator of a crime whom he is directly pursuing and in order to transport to the nearest health care organization of associated labor the victim of a crime, natural disaster or accident, an authorized official person has the right to use the vehicle or communication equipment of another if this cannot be done otherwise. The possessor of that property shall be issued a certificate as to the use of the vehicle or communication equipment.

Article 23

When authorized official personnel are performing tasks and functions within the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat, they shall have the right to examine the papers of citizens.

When authorized official personnel are performing official tasks and functions in civilian clothes, they are required to show their credentials in advance.

Article 24

In addition to the duties and powers envisaged by the federal law regulating criminal procedure and other enactments, in performance of tasks and functions in the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat authorized official personnel shall have the right to take in custody a person who is disrupting or threatening public peace and order, if establishment of public peace and order or elimination of the threat to public peace and order cannot be achieved otherwise or if this is necessary for the sake of security. Detention of the person taken into custody may not last longer than 24 hours. If the detention lasts longer than 6 hours, the Federal Secretariat must so inform the family of the person detained, unless that person objects, or to inform some other person designated by the person detained.

Authorized official personnel are required to use the power granted in Paragraph 1 of this article even when they are not on duty in order to render assistance in performance of tasks and functions within the jurisdiction of other law enforcement agencies.

The federal secretary or supervisor whom he authorizes shall issue the decision on detention of a person taken into custody as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The person detained may file an appeal with the Federal Executive Council against the decision referred to in Paragraph 3 of this article.

The appeal shall not stay execution of the decision.

Article 25

A person who has been detained without basis shall be entitled to compensation for damages.

The compensation for damages referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be charged to the Federal Secretariat.

Article 26

In order to overcome the resistance of a person who is disrupting public peace and order or who is to be taken into custody, detained or arrested, and in order to repel an attack on himself or other persons or the individual or facility whose security he is protecting, an authorized official person shall have the right to use physical force, a rubber club, or other means of coercion.

Article 27

Authorized official personnel shall have the right and duty, in conformity with service regulations, to possess and bear firearms.

In performance of official tasks and functions an authorized official person may use firearms only if the following are not otherwise possible:

- 1) to protect human life;
- 2) to prevent the flight of a person caught in the act of committing a crime against the foundations of the social system of socialist self-management and the security of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, murder, kidnapping or a threat to the safety of the flight of an aircraft, grand larceny, robbery, banditry, rape and other crimes automatically pursued if there is warranted suspicion that he will use a firearm, and to prevent the flight of a person who has been arrested for committing those crimes or a person for whom an arrest warrant has been issued for committing those crimes;
- 3) to repel a direct attack upon himself threatening his life;
- 4) to repel an attack on the facility or individual whose security he is protecting.

In the cases referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article the authorized official person shall use a firearm only if performance of his official function cannot be guaranteed by the use of physical force, the rubber club or other means of coercion.

Authorized official personnel performing official tasks and functions under the supervision of a responsible official may not use firearms except upon that person's order. The responsible official may issue the order for use of arms only in the cases and under the conditions envisaged in Paragraphs 2 and 3 of this article.

Article 28

If firearms, rubber club or other means of coercion are used within the limits of the authorization, the authorized official person who used them and the responsible official who ordered the use of the firearm, rubber club or other means of coercion shall be relieved of responsibility.

Article 29

If criminal, misdemeanor or civil proceedings are instituted against an authorized official person because of the use of a firearm, rubber club or other means of coercion or because of other interventions in performance of official tasks and functions and because of participation in a traffic accident with an official motor vehicle in the performance of official tasks and functions, the Federal Secretariat is required to provide that person legal assistance in connection with the conduct of proceedings.

The provision of Paragraph 1 of this article shall also apply when proceedings are instituted and conducted against an authorized official person even after termination of his employment in the Federal Secretariat.

The Federal Secretariat shall not furnish legal assistance as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to an authorized official person against whom a proposal has been filed for institution of proceedings to ascertain responsibility because of a serious violation of work duties as a consequence of exceeding authority or abuse in performance of official tasks and functions.

If criminal, misdemeanor or civil proceedings are instituted against an individual who extended aid to the Federal Secretariat or to an authorized official person in performance of official tasks and functions, the Federal Secretariat is required to furnish him legal assistance related to the conduct of proceedings.

The costs of furnishing the legal assistance referred to in Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4 of this article shall be charged to the Federal Secretariat.

IV. Employment of Personnel in the Federal Secretariat

Article 30

A person may establish an employment relation in the Federal Secretariat if in addition to meeting the general conditions for establishment of the employment relations he has not been convicted of a crime against the foundations of the social system of socialist self-management and the security of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, against humanity and international law, against the armed forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or against official duties, against the economy, against human and civil rights and freedoms, against self-management and social property, or of any other crime committed out of a desire for gain or other dishonorable motives.

Article 31

If the interest of a service so requires, an employee of the Federal Secretariat is required to perform official tasks and functions longer than 4 working hours.

A general self-management act of the work community of the Federal Secretariat shall set forth the scales to be used in determining compensation for overtime.

Article 32

If an employee of the Federal Secretariat is prevented by performance of official tasks and functions from taking advantage of time off during a state holiday, he shall be provided corresponding time off after performance of the task or function.

The federal secretary may interrupt or postpone an employee's taking of his annual vacation when this is required by the need to perform urgent and important official tasks and functions.

If the interruption or postponement of a vacation occurs for the reasons enumerated in Paragraph 2 of this article, the employee shall have the right to compensation of costs incurred by the postponement or interruption of the vacation.

Article 33

An employee of the Federal Secretariat may not engage in transactions incompatible with his official duties.

The federal secretary shall in conformity with federal law prescribe which transactions are incompatible with official duties of personnel in the Federal Secretariat.

Article 34

If information which constitutes an official secret is presented in a hearing before a disciplinary commission in proceedings to ascertain the accountability of a person in the Federal Secretariat because of a serious violation of work duties, the disciplinary commission may exclude the public from the entire hearing or a part of it.

Should the public be excluded from the hearing as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, the employee may be defended only by another employee of the Federal Secretariat or employee of another law enforcement agency.

Article 35

An employee of the Federal Secretariat may temporarily be taken off the tasks and functions which he performs and assigned to other tasks and functions or temporarily suspended from the Federal Secretariat if he has been caught

committing a serious violation of work duties, if proceedings have been instituted against him for determination of accountability because of a serious violation of work duties, if criminal proceedings have been instituted against him--and it would be harmful to the interests of the service if the employee were to remain in the Federal Secretariat or were to perform certain tasks and functions.

Temporary removal from tasks and functions and assignment to other tasks and functions or suspension from the Federal Secretariat may not last longer than the decision on determination of accountability because of a violation of work duty or the decision of the court on criminal accountability.

The federal secretary shall issue the decision on assignment to other tasks and functions and on suspension from the Federal Secretariat.

An authorized official person who has been suspended from the Federal Secretariat shall be required to give up his credentials and weapon and he may not wear his uniform during that time.

Article 36

The employment relation of an employee of the Federal Secretariat who has been convicted of a crime as referred to in Article 30 of this law shall terminate as of the date of service of the final verdict.

The federal secretary shall issue the decision on termination of the employment relation.

Article 37

Because of the difficulty and nature of the tasks and the special working conditions, longevity of authorized official personnel shall be counted for insurance purposes at an accelerated rate of 16 months of pensionable service for every 12 months effectively spent in that status.

The pensionable service of personnel in the Federal Secretariat who work on tasks and functions whose difficulty and the special conditions under which they are performed tend to essentially diminish the work abilities of personnel shall be accumulated at the accelerated rate referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The Federal Executive Council shall set forth the tasks and functions referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article on recommendation of the federal secretary.

Article 38

If an employee of the Federal Secretariat has more than 30 years of pensionable service (male) or 25 years of pensionable service (female), at least 20 years of which (male) or 15 years of which (female) consists of effective work on tasks and functions in which pensionable service is calculated at an accelerated rate, the employment of that person in the Federal Secretariat may not

be terminated without his consent because of elimination of tasks and functions, a permanent reduction of the work load or if it is found that the worker's ability does not meet the requirements of the tasks and functions he performs.

An employee as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article who is not assigned shall be entitled to compensation for the personal income which he would have earned if he had worked on the tasks and functions to which he was assigned, including the subsequent increases in personal incomes received by the Federal Secretariat for other personnel.

The employee awaiting assignment shall be entitled to compensation for personal income until he is assigned to new tasks and functions corresponding to his training or until he establishes an employment relation with some other agency or organization or until he qualifies for an old-age pension or until his employment terminates on some other basis.

The time which the employee has spent waiting for assignment shall be counted as time employed.

Article 39

In case of sick leave an authorized official person shall be entitled to compensation for personal income in the amount of the average personal income earned in the last 3 months before the date when that sick leave began.

The difference between the amount of the compensation during sick leave exceeding 30 days which is furnished under regulations on health insurance and health care and the amount of the compensation referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be provided for in the federal budget.

Article 40

Because of the special working conditions and the nature of the performance of those tasks and functions, in exceptional cases an employee in special positions in the Federal Secretariat may be terminated with the right to a pension even before he has met the general conditions for a pension if he has at least 20 years of pensionable service, at least 10 years of which have been effectively spent on the tasks and functions in which pensionable service is computed at an accelerated rate.

The decision to terminate the employment of a worker in the context of Paragraph 1 of this article shall be made by the federal secretary after obtaining the opinion of the work community.

An employee shall have the right to appeal the decision referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to the Federal Executive Council within 15 days from the date of receipt of the decision.

Article 41

A worker whose employment relation in the Federal Secretariat has been terminated under the provisions of Article 40 of this law shall be entitled to a personal pension which for 20 years of pensionable service amounts to 55 percent of the pension base for a man and 57.5 percent of the pension base for a woman, which shall be increased by 2.5 percent of the pension base for each subsequent year completed up to 30 years of pensionable service. For each year of pensionable service completed beyond 30 years the pension shall be increased by 0.5 percent of the pension base, so that the highest pension amounts to 85 percent of the pension base.

Article 42

A person employed in special positions in the Federal Secretariat who has at least 20 years of pensionable service, at least 10 years of which have been effectively spent on tasks and functions in which pensionable service is computed at an accelerated rate, shall be entitled to a personal pension or disability pension determined from a pension base constituting his average monthly personal income earned over the last 12 months before retirement if that is more favorable for him than the pension base set forth under general regulations.

The pension of an employee in the Federal Secretariat who at the moment of exercising the right to a pension is not an employee in special positions, but has at least 10 years of pensionable service on tasks and functions in which pensionable service is computed at the accelerated rate, shall be determined from the pension base set forth in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The pension of an employee who transferred from the Federal Secretariat to work in another agency to perform tasks and functions transferred from the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat to the jurisdiction of that agency and who before the transfer occupied special positions and had at least 20 years of pensionable service in law enforcement agencies and the pension of an authorized official person whose employment in the Federal Secretariat has been terminated by agreement between the federal secretary and the official who heads the federal agency to which that person was transferred and who performed the same or similar tasks and functions in that agency and who had at least 20 years of pensionable service on those tasks and functions and on tasks and functions in law enforcement agencies, at least 10 years of that on tasks and functions on which pensionable service is computed at the accelerated rate--shall be computed from the pension base set forth in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 43

The difference between the pension to which an employee in the Federal Secretariat is entitled without application of Articles 40 and 42 of this law and the pension awarded him by application of those articles shall be provided for in the federal budget.

Article 44

A worker whose employment in the Federal Secretariat is being terminated and who is exercising the right to a personal or disability pension under the provisions of this law and employees occupying special positions shall be entitled to severance pay in the amount of the personal income earned over the last 5 months.

Article 45

An employee in the Federal Secretariat who qualifies for a pension shall be entitled to compensation for moving expenses to the town in which he wishes to live if on the basis of prior statutes he was transferred or taken over to work in the Federal Secretariat or if he was hired under special enactments to guarantee representation of the republic or province.

The right to compensation of expenses referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may be exercised within 2 years from the date of termination of employment.

Article 46

An employee in the Federal Secretariat who in performance or in connection with performance of official tasks and functions loses his life shall be buried at the expense of the Federal Secretariat in the town designated by his family.

In the case referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the family whom the deceased employee was supporting shall be entitled to a lump-sum money grant. It may not be less than the personal income which the worker earned over the previous 6 months. The money grant shall be paid from the resources of the Federal Secretariat, and its amount shall be fixed by the federal secretary.

Article 47

A citizen who furnishes assistance in performance of official tasks and functions to the Federal Secretariat or to an authorized official person of the Federal Secretariat carrying out social self-protection and in so doing is injured or becomes ill or suffers loss or impairment of his ability to work because of rendering that assistance shall have the same rights arising out of old-age and disability insurance as a worker in a ssociated labor who has experienced a work accident or work-related accident.

If in offering the assistance referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the citizen loses his life, his family shall have the same rights arising out of old-age and disability insurance as the family of an employee in the Federal Secretariat who has lost his life in performance or related to performance of official tasks and functions.

The resources for exercise of the rights referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article shall be provided for in the federal budget.

Article 48

Officials and supervisory personnel in the Federal Secretariat shall have the rights referred to in Articles 18, 37, 42, 44, 45, 46 and 50 of this law.

V. Resources for Operation of the Federal Secretariat

Article 49

The resources for operation of the Federal Secretariat consist of the following: the resources from which the workers of the work community realize the income of the work community, funds for material costs, funds for special purposes and equipment.

The equipment of the Federal Secretariat shall be divided into articles of equipment for general purposes and articles of equipment for special purposes.

The federal secretary shall decide which articles of equipment in the Federal Secretariat shall be regarded as articles of equipment for special purposes.

The federal secretary shall decide on the use and disposition of articles of equipment for special purposes.

Article 50

Because of the special working conditions and the nature of performance of tasks and functions (special duties), especially because of the duty of employees to perform official tasks and functions even when their performance is dangerous to their lives, because of the special rights and duties which they have in performance of official tasks and functions, the obligation to perform tasks and functions even when they are not on duty and beyond normal working hours, as well as because of other special conditions under which tasks and functions are performed, the Federal Secretariat shall be furnished for those tasks and functions resources for personal incomes which are 20 percent greater than the resources furnished in conformity with bases and scales for other federal bodies, agencies and organizations, and those resources shall become part of the resources for operation of the Federal Secretariat.

The Federal Executive Council shall set forth those tasks and functions for which the resources shall be increased on the basis of Paragraph 1 of this article, on the recommendation of the federal secretary.

Article 51

Resources for special purposes shall be used to meet particular needs or to perform tasks and functions which are part of the regular activity of the Federal Secretariat, such as the following: purchase of clothing, footwear and equipment of uniformed personnel; purchase of firearms, ammunition and supplies for maintenance of firearms; purchase of special operational equipment; special expenditures; financing special contacts with law enforcement agencies of the republics and provinces; insurance of authorized official personnel

against the consequences of accidents on the job; severance pay; burial expenses and money grants to the family of an employee killed in the line of duty; the expenses of escorting and detaining persons; compensation for damages of a person detained unjustifiably and damages caused by the use of someone else's vehicle or communication equipment and expenses of furnishing legal assistance.

If the resources referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are not spent in the year for which they have been furnished, they shall be carried over to the next year for the same purpose.

Article 52

In addition to the resources referred to in Article 49 of this law, resources shall also be furnished in the federal budget to perform tasks and functions in the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat in whose performance the law enforcement agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces also participate at its request.

VI. The Security Institute

Article 53

The Security Institute (hereinafter "the Institute"), as a federal organization within the Federal Secretariat, shall perform the scientific research functions necessary for supporting the activity of the state security service.

Article 54

Within the confines of its field of activity the Institute shall perform the following:

- 1) research and development and productive work important to furnishing technical equipment to security agencies and departments and to making them professionally capable and also to support performance of the activity of those agencies;
- 2) research work pertaining to development and interlinkage of communications systems, systems for code protection and antielectronic protection, the information system and the other technical systems of security agencies and departments;
- 3) research projects pertaining to development of methods and means of protection against explosive, incendiary, radioactive, toxic and other dangerous substances;
- 4) the tasks of developing, designing and overseeing realization of systems for preventive technical protection of the special-purpose facilities of security agencies and departments;

- 5) the gathering, sorting, study and classification of data on technical resources and equipment of interest to security agencies and departments for the purpose of their development and improvement;
- 6) certification, servicing and sales of specific articles which are used in the work of security agencies and departments;
- 7) the patenting of confidential inventions of interest to national security;
- 8) the instruction and specialized advanced training of personnel for security purposes;
- 9) the gathering, sorting and classification of documentation pertaining to the historical development of security agencies and departments and organizing or conducting research into that development;
- 10) organizing conferences, seminars and other suitable forms of cooperation for the purpose of studying problems within its field of activity;
- 11) other research functions necessary to supporting the activity of the State Security Service.

The Institute shall perform the tasks enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article in collaboration with the technical sectors of security agencies and departments as well as with research organizations and production organizations within the country and abroad.

Article 55

The work of the Institute shall be directed by the director, who shall be appointed by the Federal Executive Council on the recommendation of the federal secretary.

The director of the Institute shall be appointed for a term of 4 years and may be appointed to the same position a maximum of twice in succession.

Article 56

The Institute shall perform the tasks and functions within its sphere of activity in conformity with its work program.

The work program referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued by the director of the Institute in agreement with the federal secretary after having obtained the opinion of officials who head other federal administrative agencies performing the tasks of state security.

Article 57

Within the Institute the Council of the Institute (hereinafter "the Council") shall be established as an advisory body to take up matters pertaining to the following: research, development and production work important to equipping

security agencies and departments, to setting forth and carrying out the Institute's work program, to establishing the principles of the Institute's personnel policy; to the cession of the specific pieces of equipment used in the work of security agencies and departments; to the instruction and advanced specialized training of personnel for security purposes which is conducted in the Institute as well as to other matters important to the work of the Institute.

The Council shall be made up of one representative of every federal, republic or provincial administrative agency which performs the functions of state security.

The chairman and members of the Council shall be appointed by the Federal Executive Council for a period of 4 years.

If the director of the Institute does not accept the opinion of the Council on the matters referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, he is required to so notify the Federal Executive Council, which shall make the final decision.

The Council shall adopt an operating procedure to govern its work.

The Institute shall perform specialized and administrative and technical tasks to meet the needs of the Council.

Article 58

The Institute shall have a code of regulations issued by the director of the Institute.

The code of regulations shall prescribe the conditions for development and production of technical devices and equipment to meet the needs of security agencies and departments, other matters important to research, development and production work performed in the Institute and to other areas of the work of the Institute, as well as the manner in which the rights of the personnel in the Institute shall be exercised and their obligations and responsibilities discharged in conformity with the sphere of activity of the Institute.

The code of regulations referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be subject to confirmation by the Federal Executive Council.

Article 59

The public shall be informed about the results of scientific research in the work of the Institute unless this is contrary to the interests of the country's security and defense and other interests as set forth in law.

The director of the Institute shall issue approval for familiarizing the public with the results of scientific research, with consent of the federal secretary.

The Institute is required to familiarize federal, republic and provincial administrative agencies performing the tasks of state security with the results of all scientific research conducted in the Institute.

Article 60

After having obtained the opinion of the Institute's director, the federal secretary may commission certain staff members of the Institute to perform certain tasks of state security within the jurisdiction of the Federal Secretariat.

At the request of the official who heads another federal administrative agency performing tasks of state security, after first obtaining the opinion of the Institute's director, the federal secretary may order that certain staff members of the Institute perform certain tasks of state security within the jurisdiction of that agency.

The federal secretary shall prescribe the tasks referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article on which individual staff members of the Institute may be employed and the manner of that employment.

Staff members in the Institute who are employed in the manner referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article in performing certain tasks of state security shall be regarded as authorized official persons so long as they are performing such tasks.

Article 61

The provisions of this law on employment relations of personnel in the Federal Secretariat and also the provisions of Article 50 of this law shall apply to personnel in the Institute.

The Federal Executive Council shall set forth the tasks and functions of the personnel referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article on the recommendation of the Institute's director, but after first obtaining the opinion of the federal secretary.

Article 62

The entire resources for operation of the Institute shall be provided for in the federal budget.

VII. Authorizations To Issue Regulations

Article 63

The Federal Executive Council is hereby authorized to issue regulations on armament, uniforms, titles and qualifying conditions for titles and special insignia of titles of police personnel in the Federal Secretariat.

Article 64

The federal secretary is hereby authorized to issue regulations on the following:

- 1) on performance of service and on mutual relations and deportment of authorized official personnel;
- 2) on records and manner of reporting on occurrences in the domain of internal affairs of interest to the entire country;
- 3) defining tasks and information in the domain of internal affairs of interest to the entire country and the methodology for gathering, recording and processing such data and information;
- 4) setting forth the tasks and functions on which authorized official personnel work;
- 5) on the manner and conditions for use of firearms, the rubber club and other means of coercion;
- 6) on the manner of use and disposition of articles of equipment for special purposes and special-purpose equipment for special missions [original reads "expenditures"];
- 7) on the period of time the uniform and supplemental parts of the uniform of police personnel in the Federal Secretariat shall be worn.

VIII. Transitional and Final Provisions

Article 65

The regulations the federal secretary is authorized to issue under the provisions of this law shall be issued within a period of 6 months from the date when this law takes effect.

Article 66

Regulations issued on the basis of the authorization contained in the Law on Performance of Law Enforcement in the Jurisdiction of Federal Administrative Agencies (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, No 60, 1971; No 32, 1975; and No 25, 1981) shall be brought into conformity with the provisions of this law within a period of 6 months from the date when this law takes effect.

Article 67

On the day when this law takes effect the Law on Performance of Law Enforcement in the Jurisdiction of Federal Administrative Agencies (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, No 60, 1971; No 32, 1975; and No 25, 1981) shall cease to be valid.

Article 68

This law shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ.

END